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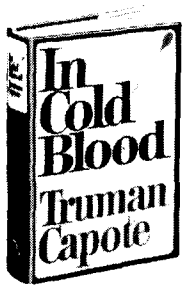

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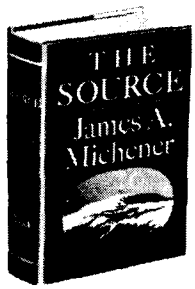

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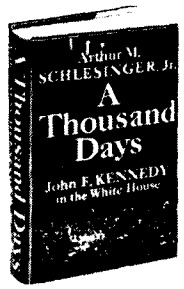

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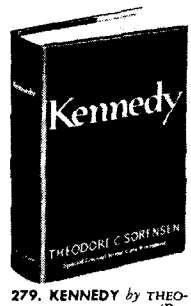

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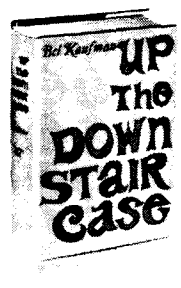

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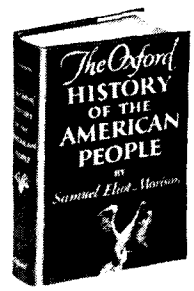

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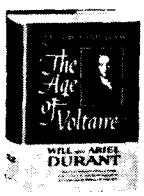

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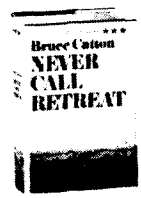

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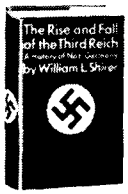

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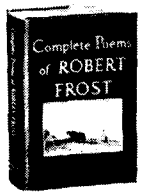

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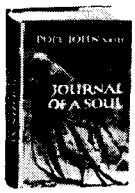

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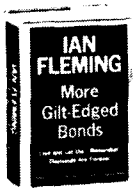

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Don't Get Taught Art This Way! ☛

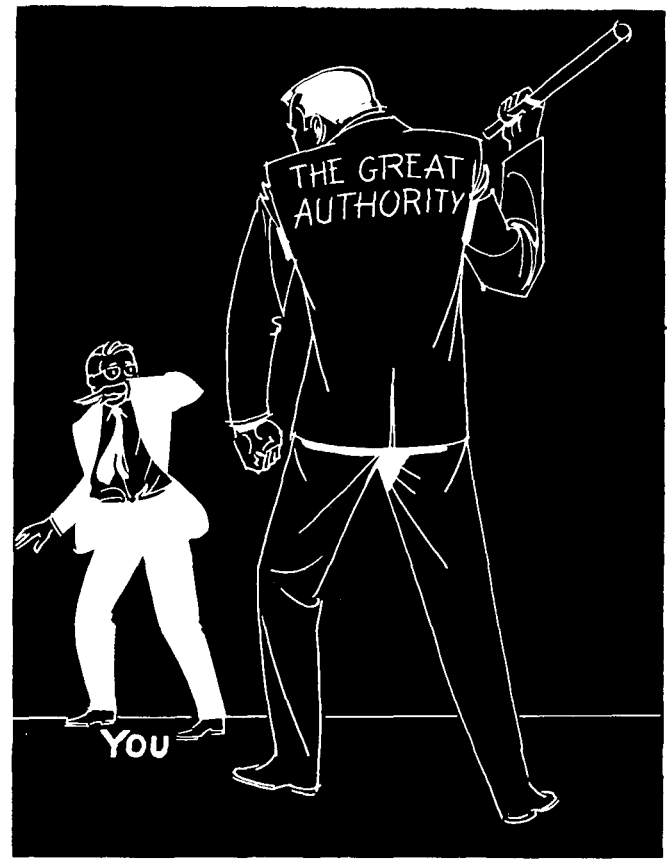
AS SO MANY PEOPLE DO.

Hold your independence of opinion. It's priceless. And plenty of times you can be the one who's right.

Eternal verdicts of "good" or "bad" in art are long out of date in this great booming space age. Too many unpredictable things are happening.

True, the "great authority" (like the weather-forecaster, or the "bookie" at the race track) can often make slightly better guesses than you can, for a short time ahead. And within that limit he can be useful. It's in your failure to keep him there, that the fatal error occurs. In no time he has developed into the all-knowing one, is delivering eternal verdicts in the thousands, and you are his prize easy-mark.

For instance, consider the six sample "verdicts" here quoted.



"Listen, ignoramus; as a special favor I'm teaching you to appreciate art, so let's not have any back-talk from you about what you *think*. Understand?"

[Taken (mainly for their brevity) from innumerable similar ones in the "course for art appreciation" published by one of America's greatest museums.]

To the man who has retained his freedom of thought, the barest glance (see "The True Facts" adjoining) in-

1 HOLBEIN

"This portrait . . . is the only one to use composition as a means of expressing an individual personality . . . the feeling we have that here is a real person, a person of great reserve, of acute intelligence — a subtle woman, a most attractive but not quite approachable one . . . What is it about the picture that suggests this personality? It is largely a question of arrangement; it is a matter of her pose and the placement of the figure in space. . . . *If the figure were truly centered it would relay to us the impression of a much more foursquare, more obvious, more everyday woman.*"

2 PIERO

. . . "*one of the extraordinary portraits of any time, a supreme example of the revelation of personality.* . . . Piero took the ruined profile, even the warts on the face, and patterned them into a design revealing the *strength, decision, intelligence* and abstract beauty — for, as drawn by Piero, the line of the duke's profile has become abstractly beautiful — of one of the most compelling personalities of the age."

3 VAN DER GOES

"His face is filled with joy and reverence and almost with fright. He dares lean no closer, but his eyes start with *wild curiosity* as he strains forward. *No head in the history of painting, of any period, surpasses this one in psychological revelation, through explicitly realistic representation."*

THE TRUE FACTS

Verdicts 1, 2 and 3 are wrong not only because the character readings are so obviously one-man whimsies, but also because scientific studies (as well as police experience) have long since proved that a man's character cannot be read from his face.

Verdict 2 is also wrong in stating that one short line can be 'abstractly beautiful.' "Who ever heard of a musician falling in love with B flat?" asked the famous painter, John Sloan, very aptly.

As to Verdict 4, careful experiments among qualified men have shown that scores of lines, attitudes and relationships could be altered without disrupting the balanced harmony at all.

Verdicts 5 and 6 have no apparent purpose except to awe the amateur and make him realize how ignorant he is compared to the "great authority."

To nine men out of ten (by actual test) the effect of running is very well conveyed in the cot picture. And that the fancy "standards" used to censure the Benton are pure humbug becomes evident as soon as you try to give them *really practical* application either to the Benton picture or to any others.

However, much worse than the mere wrongness of these verdicts is that they confuse and frustrate great masses of people, who, when they find themselves totally unable to respond to art works in the way they "should", conclude that art is "not for them".

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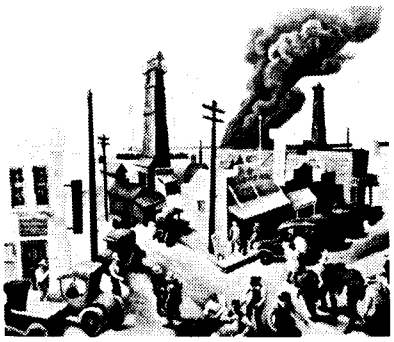
stantly reveals that they are either highly dubious or (more often) actually nonsense.

Such a man is the exception, however.

Much more frequently found is the man who has gradually become so subservient to what he thinks is "established opinion" — often out of mere laziness and inadvertence — that he accepts these verdicts almost automatically. They are expressed in the same pretentious and sophisticated-sounding language that he observes everywhere and he takes for granted that such language is somehow inherent in art. He has become callous to nonsense, sometimes for life.



5 BOOM TOWN, BENTON

"The artificiality of his style seems out of key with the folksiness of his subjects, leaving us with the feeling that although he wanted to get to the heart of his material he managed only to observe it from the outside and record it inappropriately."

6 THE STORM, COT

"For all the signposts such as billowing drapery and bodily attitudes pointing out that the figures are supposed to be running, *there is no expression of flight. The lovers remain forever on tip-toe.*"

Conjecturism

is the modern approach to art

It brings art up-to-date much as Evolution brought Biology up-to-date—namely by abandoning the rigid *certitude* and turning towards the experienced but temporary *conjecture*.

Instead of dodging obvious facts as old-fashioned critics do, it faces them and then makes the best conjectures it can *under the circumstances*. It's tough-minded, rational, honest, rather than evasive and irresponsible.

Art is not immortal, as you have probably long been aware, at least subconsciously. Man moves ahead by outgrowing art, at higher and higher levels, not by stagnating inside it. However, a mere verbal description of CONJECTURISM is inadequate. The books and pamphlets here listed are needed for a full understanding of its far-reaching and revolutionary implications. Even the most sophisticated man will be shaken out of some of his favorite dogmas, we believe. And it is for this reason that we suggest your giving permission to send your choice of them on ten days' free trial. Simply fill out and mail the coupon or reply card.

4 EAKINS

"As a group the five men and two little girls . . . compose a frieze of rhythmic unity and variety that should be impossible, or at least disharmonious. . . . *Yet there is not a line, an attitude, a relationship that we could change without disrupting the balanced harmony.*"

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"HYPOCRISY ABOUT ART lets a lot of fresh air into the subject of art criticism — does a good job of deflating some of the pompous nonsense." George B. Keester, Chairman Fine Arts Dept., West Virginia Wesleyan College.

"Shaw has taken off the lid and exposed the aesthetic and critical overalls in the stew of beauty. Painter, art gallery director, and aesthetician for many years, Shaw has shown many opinions and their underlying presuppositions to lie in a Limpopo greasiness. His chapter entitled 'The Metropolitan Museum Lays an Egg' is far too delicious to miss. This was a long overdue cleaning of the fat, self-congratulatory, aesthetic stables." Prof. Dale Riepe, C. W. Post College, in Philosophy & Phenom. Research.

"PRECIOUS RUBBISH which I received and promptly read, seems worth passing around. Please send me 30 copies." — John Wilcox, Prof. and Grad. Adviser, Wayne University.

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"Expresses to a T my every thought. I think it's great."— Nicola Ziroli, Artist in Res., Univ. of Ill.

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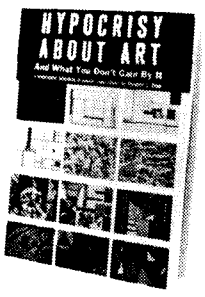

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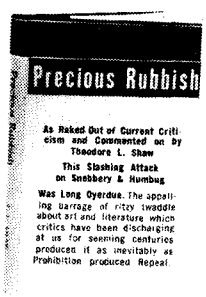
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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Indemnifying the Victims

★ This reporter made a modest contribution last year to a fund for the family of the Reverend James Reeb, a young Unitarian minister murdered in Selma, Ala., while doing civil rights work. There was never a worthier cause but it has troubled me ever since. Why should I or any other private individual be forced by conscience to try to make reparation for crimes like these against society? Jonathan Daniels, an outstanding young man from the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Cambridge, Mass., went to Hayneville, Ala., to help civil rights. He was struck down by a shotgun blast. Someone was tried for the crime and after a trial which the state attorney general called a "whitewash" of a "coldblooded, premeditated murder," was acquitted.

Why shouldn't the government make restitution, or force payment on the communities where the unpunished violence occurs? The government makes redress for boys killed in Vietnam, why not in civil rights cases?

A recent study by the Southern Regional Council cites 93 civil rights deaths between 1955 and 1965. The American Friends Service Committee, the National Council of Churches and the Southern Regional Council have documented over 500 cases of violence between January, 1961 and May, 1965. How many local Negroes have suffered physical violence without reporting it nobody knows.

Now 20 Senators, led by Paul Douglas, are co-sponsoring what they call the Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966. It anticipates a bill which Mr. Johnson is himself expected to introduce this year. Part of the purpose of the Act is to encourage and stimulate the Administration. In general it would intervene by various means in local law enforcement to assure equal protection of the law in areas where the Constitution is now being flouted. One provision would provide civil indemnification for those injured while lawfully exercising their rights.

States provide compensation for injured workmen. Washington insures GI's. What an outrage it is that people who run risks in the civil rights field should have to depend on charity if attacked in the Southern murder belt? The proposed provision requires that the federal government make the initial payments to the injured. Then it would have the right to collect payments from the state or political subdivision where the injury occurred.

Noble Networks

★ Under private television, management sometimes gives live coverage to significant hearings as an act of grace. This coverage is always accompanied by exclamations of self-wonder at the quixotic public service they are rendering. Why, they are cutting into commercial programs financed by toothpaste, laxatives or deodorants!

Make no doubt about it, this live coverage is often of critical importance to national events. When the public finally had a chance to watch Joe McCarthy on TV, the Senator from Wisconsin was finished. And when the hearings on Vietnam before the Fulbright committee got live TV coverage some sort of a watershed, we think, was passed, too. We don't mean that the wisdom or unwisdom of the war was decided. What happened was that suddenly what had been a remote and theoretical discussion took urgent form right in the living room.

It seems incredible that this most potent of all communications media should be left to private exploitation. No other country does, that we know of. It is like letting private corporations handle the nuclear bomb for profit. We are persuaded that in time some nationwide public service or educational network will be set up with governmental subsidies to supplement private TV.

In any event, live television coverage on the Fulbright hearings finally precipitated a national soul-searching. It became possible to ask questions, discuss alternatives. It seemed to push the President in the direction of making a new statement of position. Anybody could see the nation was restless.

Under these circumstances Fred Friendly resigned as president of CBS News. He wanted to continue giving live coverage to "one of the crucial debates of our time." His superior overruled him: "The housewife isn't interested." Friendly noted that NBC was going to continue coverage: "Why were NBC's housewives interested?" he asked. Of course Friendly's superior had a point. CBS was losing $175,000 a day by canceling commercial schedules, and that is a lot of money. Come right down to it, a corporation is in business to make profits. Legally it owes its first allegiance to its stockholders. Any other approach would bring American free enterprise tumbling down, and that is what we are fighting for in Vietnam, isn't it?

Friendly's letter of resignation will be quoted a long time in TV circles, and in the chronicles of lost causes. "When last Thursday morning at 10 o'clock I looked at the monitors in my office," he wrote, "and saw the hearings on Channel 4 . . . and saw a fifth rerun of 'Lucy' then followed by an eighth rerun of 'The Real McCoys' I wanted to order up an announcement that said: 'Due to circumstances beyond our control the broadcast originally intended for this time will not be seen'."

The Beginning of Wisdom

★ Twenty years ago the two things everybody knew about economics were that not balancing the budget produced inflation, and that the business cycle was like the tide, it came in and went out and recessions sooner or later were inevitable – like Acts of God. Twenty years ago on February 20, 1946, President Truman signed the Full Employment Act out of which ultimately appeared, as *NYTimesman* M. J. Rossant has said, "an end to innocence." It set up the President's Council of Economic Advisers, established the annual Economic Report, and set "maximum employment" as the national goal. Most everything that has happened since to dispel economic myths came from that.

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The Few and the Many

"Consumers by definition, include us all. They are the largest economic group in the economy, affecting and affected by almost every public and private economic decision. Two-thirds of all spending in the economy is by consumers. But they are the only important group in the economy who are not effectively organized, whose views are often not heard." Neither John F. Kennedy, who prefaced his request for consumer legislation in 1962 with this statement, nor President Johnson, who later offered many of the same proposals, had much luck persuading Congress to take up the fight for "us all."

The most significant consumer-protection measure has been the 1962 Kefauver drug amendments, intended to place the burden of proof for a drug's safety and efficacy where it belongs, on the manufacturer. But since their enactment the Kefauver amendments generally have been enforced languidly, and in practice are commonly violated. It is too soon to tell whether Dr. James L. Goddard, the new commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, will stiffen enforcement. For several months, Rachel Carson's book, *The Silent Spring*, excited the public about the poisoning of our environment, but it brought no change in federal policy on licensing pesticides; the Agriculture Department still says it must have scientific proof of a pesticide's harmful effect before the pesticide can be taken off the market. Last year the White House refused to support the Federal Trade Commission, which had recommended that warning statements be placed in cigarette advertising (not just on cigarette packages) following the Public Health Service's report that linked smoking with cancer. Nor did the Administration bestir itself to alert consumers to the dangers of smoking. Instead, the White House acquiesced while the tobacco industry wrote its own mild labeling law. And soon thereafter, the government paid $100,000 in PL 480 funds to make a film boosting cigarette smoking, to show the rest of the world.

For months now witnesses have appeared at Senator Abraham Ribicoff's inquiry into traffic safety, one after another urging the federal government to set safety standards for cars, as it does for planes, ships and trains. Had not the President pointed out that "the gravest problem before this nation – next to the war in Vietnam – is the death and destruction, the shocking and senseless carnage, that strikes daily on our highways and that takes a higher and more terrible toll each year?" Mr. Johnson then promised a highway safety bill. But the drafts of that bill prepared in the Commerce Department call for more

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research, not standards. No alarm bells are ringing in Ford, Chrysler or GM headquarters yet.

The President is expected to send Congress a fresh consumer message. At its heart will be requests for truth in lending and packaging. Senator Paul Douglas' lending bill would require it to be known that consumers are often paying 18 percent in annual interest in disguised "service charges" for maintaining charge accounts at department stores. It would require merchants to state the rate of interest as well as total dollar value of a loan, and would thus stimulate more competition in the finance business. Housewives keen to pick up bargains might, if they realized they could borrow more cheaply from a bank (about 12 percent annually), shop around in financing too. Although it is a simple disclosure bill, holding out scant possibility of any federal prosecution in case of violations, the Douglas proposal is opposed by the American Bankers Association, American Bar Association, the finance companies and retail associations.

Legislation to standardize package sizes was first introduced by Senator Philip Hart of Michigan in 1961; it has since staggered from the Senate Judiciary Committee which refused to bless it, to the Commerce Committee where it has had a cool reception. Essentially, the Hart bill would compel manufacturers to state plainly on the package's front, the net weight of contents; it would also empower the Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration to set reasonable weights and measures in various product lines and prohibit deceptively designed packages. Business groups oppose any such reasonable standards, which means that their adoption by Congress is likewise uncertain.

Mr. Johnson might choose to make a real effort for these two measures. There is an election this fall, consumers are voters, and the new laws would put no added strain on the federal budget. But to pull them through, the Administration may have to dilute their already diluted strength even further. Legislators and regulators spend their time fending off the lawyers and lobbyists of organized industries. The absence of any lobby for "the many" is an old story. To fill this void, Mr. Ralph Nader, who is leading a campaign for safer automobiles, has come up with an interesting idea. He suggests taking off a different tack. He would follow the example of the poverty program's neighborhood legal services, which offer free legal counsel to the poor. He wants some foundation to underwrite lawyers who could push test cases in important consumer areas: automobile safety, for example; or cigarette advertising. These defenders of the consumer could prod regulatory agencies, appear before congressional committees seeking remedial legislation, and in short use on behalf of "us all" all the legal instruments now available to industry. It's worth trying.

Airworthy Planes

The Federal Aviation Agency had insisted that there is no pattern in the four recent crashes of Boeing 727's to warrant grounding the fleet (*NR*, Feb. 19, "Safety in the Air"). But last week it decided that something *was* wrong – perhaps with the way pilots are trained to land the plane.

Four 727's have crashed since August 16 – all at night, all on landing. The similarities in the crashes, which killed 264 persons, were compelling enough to prompt a Texas congressman, Henry B. Gonzales, last week to call for grounding the remaining 727's pending completion of investigations.

Shortly after Mr. Gonzales' statement, Boeing stock declined six points on the New York Stock Exchange and the FAA urgently called to Washington representatives of the 14 domestic and foreign airlines flying 727's. But the meeting, held on one day's notice, was not to discuss taking the planes out of service. FAA has no intention of doing that. Rather, it was "to exchange views on operating experiences and to talk about procedures in operating the airplanes." It seems that in addition to the structural defects in the plane already noted by the Civil Aeronautics Board, the jet has the peculiar tendency to descend very rapidly on landing – perhaps too rapidly for pilots unaccustomed to flying the plane. Emphasizing this "high sink rate" in pilot training might reduce the 727's "crash rate."

Representative Gonzales thought such discussions were rather tardy: "If this plane has an abnormally high sink rate," he said, "why did the FAA certify it as airworthy before pilots . . . were completely trained to adjust to this characteristic?"

The FAA has authority to ground planes it considers unsafe but is reluctant to take such action. There are some 226 Boeing 727's in service, and about 250 more on order. The planes cost between $4 million and $5 million each. "You have to have some pretty solid evidence," said an FAA spokesman, "before you ground a plane. I think pilots can become familiar with the operation of the 727 and learn how to handle it."

How Much Is Enough?

Testifying before the Fulbright committee, General Maxwell Taylor prudently would not be drawn into predicting how many more GIs might be needed to secure a "free and independent South Vietnam," though the present "205,000 is not sufficient." Six hundred thousand US troops is the figure bandied about by Senator Stennis, chairman of the preparedness investigating subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee. So be it. "Having embarked on this course,"

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General Taylor says, "I hope we strike them hip and thigh." Since "our lads are in charge of this war situation," he is confident of the outcome if we persist. He is opposed at this time to indiscriminate air attacks on North Vietnam or China but envisages a "gradually increasing scale of attacks" on the North.

The balance sheet now is as follows: In addition to our forces, there are 677,000 South Vietnamese troops fighting under the banner of Saigon. They and we are opposed by about 190,000 South Vietnamese loyal to the National Liberation Front – 110,000 guerrillas and 80,000 hard-core fighters. "If there were no further infiltration," General Taylor believes, "the South Vietnamese should be able to cope with the situation" – an interesting prophecy, considering that according to Washington figures there are only from 15,000 to 20,000 North Vietnamese troops now in the South.

Turncoat Rockefeller

Charleston, West Virginia

Neither Governor Nelson Rockefeller (R, N.Y.) nor gubernatorial candidate Winthrop Rockefeller (R, Ark.), have commented publicly on the decision of their nephew, John D. IV, to run as a Democrat for the House of Delegates in West Virginia. However, Nelson Rockefeller's campaign organizer in West Virginia, Cleo Jones, claims that the state's two-party system would have been strengthened if the 28-year-old Rockefeller had remained a Republican: "He would have been more effective as a leader in a minority party than in being lost in the crowd of ambitious politicians where he now finds himself."

When he filed, Rockefeller said he had "chosen to become a Democrat because I believe [in] their concern for their fellowman, their faith in his potential, and their determination that he have a fair chance to attain that potential. My experience working for the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations has reinforced this feeling. Therefore, by experience, by association, by instinct, by philosophy and now by choice I am a Democrat."

Rumors that he would seek election began to circulate shortly after he arrived in the state in July 1964 as a neighborhood worker for the Action for Appalachian Youth (AAY). There was little surprise when he filed as a Democrat; he would have a much harder race if he were to run as a Republican. Not since the early 1930's has the state legislature been Republican. In Kanawha County, which Rockefeller would represent, all 14 delegates are Democratic, and GOP inroads this fall in the Mountain State are expected to be slight.

Rockefeller says he has no longer-range political plans than being elected to the state legislature, but political observers here think the lanky, six-foot-six Harvard graduate will move onward and upward.

Rockefeller's chances in the May primary appear good, despite competition from 14 seasoned delegates and a total of 47 candidates. With 47 names from which to choose on a ballot, voters tend to select those most familiar to them. Moreover, Rockefeller has shown an interest in West Virginia and has made some real contribution to alleviating problems in the small community of Emmons, 15 miles outside Charleston, the state's capitol. Rockefeller had spent a year and a half in Japan as a student and later was director of the Peace Corps in the Philippines. On his return, he became involved in the war on poverty but was undecided whether to work in Appalachia or Southern California. His close friend, Charles Peters, Inspector General of the Peace Corps and a West Virginian, convinced him to come to the Mountain State. When he arrived as an AAY worker at Emmons, four miles from the nearest paved road, he found approximately 60 families, all but 13 supported by some form of welfare and who regarded him either as a Republican organizer, a federal agent looking for a moonshine still, or a state official checking on welfare recipients.

People have learned to accept him. He helped them form their own Community Improvement Association which has begun to build three recreation areas, established a library, and formed a little league ball club. He has arranged for several youths to enter the Job Corps and has helped keep others in school.

Rockefeller says he has learned that, "It's not the rightness of ideas that's of primary importance, it's the people and the way they feel and the way they're treated, the way they see themselves, that makes things change or not change. . . . You can stand before somebody with an idea that is so clearly and so logically right and even capable of causing an immediate change, and if that person doesn't have a relationship to you that allows him to see that idea, he won't do it."

That kind of talk does John D. IV no harm.

CAROLYN BOIARSKY

COMING: *Alex Campbell from Tokyo on how the Japanese view US policies in Asia*

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Will Success Spoil A Poverty Program?

Houston

Until bureaucrats turned off the tap, a program here to teach reading and writing had the city dazzled. Texans are not overly fond of federal efforts to raise up the poor, but no one, rich or poor, quarreled with this one. The vocational department of the Houston school system, which ran the "basic adult education" program, had expected no more than 500 students. More than a thousand enrolled for classes last fall; by this February there were more than 5,200.

Such an enthusiastic response chipped at a comfortable Texas stereotype of the lazy poor who deserve what they haven't got. The classes offered no credit and hard work; they meet two nights a week for three hours, at the end of the working day. Teachers enlisted from the public schools drilled the students in reading, writing and arithmetic. Organized by achievement into three levels, the students had only to meet one formal entrance requirement – no more than an eighth-grade education. Most classes were held in public-school buildings and civic centers, but to take care of the unexpected crowds, a union hall and a fire station were commandeered.

The teachers, many of whom had volunteered to earn an extra $10 a night, were surprised to find themselves working with the most eager pupils they had ever encountered. "If they ever stopped this program I don't know what I'd do," one young Latin American student told his teacher. "This is the first chance I've ever had." "Of all the things I've ever done," a teacher remarked, "this is the only one that I've known was right. It takes a lot of guts when you're 50 years old to admit that you can't read and all these people get is the satisfaction of seeing themselves improve." One man had enrolled because he had a job waiting that required him to read and write. A grandmother enrolled because she wanted to be able to read the Bible herself before she died. Illiterates in the first level made astonishing progress.

On her third night of class, one woman teacher was presented with an orchid. At Christmas, the adults asked to have parties at their "school." After presents, the class brought out its tamales, Cokes, apples, chili.

Then in mid-January, the federal axe fell. The allocation for the Houston program was cut from $240,000 to $188,000 for the entire year. The superintendent of schools, discovering that his money would be eaten up by February 4, decided to abandon the program.

Ironically, it was success coupled with bureaucratic affection for paper budgets that caused the kill order to be given. The program was paid for out of poverty funds made available through the Economic Opportunity Act; but because it was educational, the Office of Economic Opportunity passed the funds along to the Office of Education, which in turn made grants to state education agencies.

Somewhere in this tangle of requisitions and agencies, the human purpose of the expenditure seems to have been lost. Of last year's $19 million federal allocation to Houston, only $4 million had been used, because the program started late. And somehow, in the face of an unexpected crush of students, it was decided that less was needed this year than last; so the original $19 million was cut to $16 million. The OEO claimed that the Bureau of the Budget had done the slicing; the Office of Education claimed that the OEO had been in on it; and with a magical abacus, some officials explained that the reduction was really an increase, because last year's leftover money and this year's new money added up to $30 million. What in fact happened was that the Office of Education, confronted with an enormous turnout of eager illiterates and semiliterates, ordered each state to cut back its local allocations by 15 percent. Classes were swollen because the program was effective. If the poverty and education officials had not blundered into one of the most desperate needs of the poor, the program would not have been cut back. Since the amount of federal money was determined on a per-capita basis, the need of the poor exceeded the resources available.

Among the students in Houston, excitement and hope gave way to bitter disappointment. To educational administrators, however, it was all part of the game. "It's merely a reduction from what was originally allocated," said an official of the Texas Education Agency. "School people are used to that."

The city, impressed for once with its hard-working poor, failed to sympathize with this "administrative readjustment." Scores of churches and clubs called for volunteers to teach or raise money and offered space in which the classes could meet. There were individual offers of donations and talk of a fund-raising campaign to allow the Houston school system to keep on without the undependable federal government. Many teachers said they would work for nothing.

At last, two weeks ago, a local foundation staked the poor to what the poverty program couldn't supply, a check for $54,000. The money wasn't enough, for the classes must now be restricted to students already enrolled. It is estimated by school officials that between 10,000 and 15,000 would have signed up, if they could have been accommodated; more than 160,000 people here have not finished the eighth grade.

WILLIAM P. PANNILL

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France and the Five

Paris

On Monday, this February 21, at 3 o'clock, the burgundy curtains in the ornate Salles des Fêtes of the Elysées Palace part. General de Gaulle enters – "*Messieurs, je me félicite de vous voir*" – and asks for questions. One question may be safely anticipated: Did the outcome of the Common Market crisis satisfy your objectives, Mr. President? The answer, more succinctly than he might put it: No.

De Gaulle's aims were two. First, he wanted to suspend the automatic switchover to majority rule among The Six this year. Second, and more important to the fiber of the European Economic Community, he wanted to curb its executive commission in Brussels – sometimes known as the Hallstein Commission.

Take majority rule: The community's founding charter, the 1957 Treaty of Rome, states that some matters must always be decided by unanimity – *e.g.*, each member has permanent veto power on new members – but that most other matters shall pass, by stages, to decision by a "qualified majority." Some relatively minor matters passed three years ago and most remaining major matters were scheduled to pass on January 1, 1966. In majority voting, France, Germany and Italy have four votes apiece, Belgium and the Netherlands have two apiece, and Luxembourg one. A "qualified" majority means, first, 12 votes out of the 17, and in most cases at least four countries composing the majority. That is, the big three – France, Germany, Italy – could not normally overrule the little three. Conversely, one of the big three, joined by another, or by Belgium or the Netherlands, could block action.

The voting thus regulated, the French need not have been paralyzed by fear that they would be steamrollered. Apart from the letter of the rules, it was unlikely that four, or five, of her partners would gang up against France time and again if they wanted her to stay in. For another, the French themselves were privately confident that they could find a like-minded partner to block the majority in a showdown.

So why the attack? In commercial terms, what matters most to France in the Common Market is agriculture, and the matter on which she is most reluctant is the liberalization of trade in industrial goods. These are, if you stop to think of it, the two principal elements of the European Economic Community, and the only two major elements on which substantial progress has been made. With fantastic finesse and mountainous effort the community has begun to weave together the maze of six national farm-subsidy systems. At the same time tariffs on trade among The Six have been cut 80 percent in eight years.

France and all the rest are committed, by the Rome Treaty, to go to zero tariffs on internal trade. They are also committed to adjust their external tariffs to a common average level, which means up for the historically low-tariff countries and down for the others, namely France and Italy. There is no commitment, however, to do anything more on external tariffs, and it is here – if there must be a practical reason – that France might just as soon have her veto power. The Kennedy Round threat of more American and British competition from the outside, piled onto the reality of German competition on the inside, makes Frenchmen think twice about liberal cuts in external tariffs.

As for the commission: While the ultimate power to run the community rests permanently in the hands of The Six governments, until and unless they decide otherwise, the commission inevitably has become supergovernment. In some respects – farm policy and antitrust policy, for instance – it has been given its authority by specific act of the governments. But basically it gets its power as the permanent body that works on and thinks about community matters *as* community matters every day. Naturally its thoughts and its acts run to making more of the community. Moreover, it is specifically vested with the job of initiating proposals.

France was annoyed on lesser points, too, such as Professor Hallstein receiving the credentials of foreign ambassadors, staying at Blair House when he visited Washington, and allegedly having let himself once be called "the first prime minister of Europe." But when, at the peace table in Luxembourg last month, France presented her 10-point list of new rules for commissioner behavior, the one which mattered most dealt with this power of initiative.

France proposed that the commission be required to "consult" the member countries *before* making proposals, and the Quai d'Orsay left no doubt that this meant "consult and follow the advice of." In other words, by the time a commission proposal was formally proposed for a vote of approval by the governments it would have been shaped to suit all objections. Ap-

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proval would be automatic. The commission's independent initiative would exist no more.

On these two major issues the results have been as follows: France's five partners have "noted" her unhappiness about majority rule, have said that they will try hard to reach unanimity on major issues, but have left standing the resort to majority rule for final decisions. The important point about commission-government consultation has been watered down to "contact."

There have been two curious side effects to this controversy. France wanted Professor Hallstein removed as part of the process of curbing the commission. By any reasonable standards it might be said that he'd had the job long enough – the whole eight years of the EEC's existence. But by making such an issue of it, and having failed so much on other counts, it is now rated as a real possibility that the French will have to suffer the professor for another, albeit final, year or two. On another point, while France's boycott stymied almost all meaningful community activity for seven months, it did not prevent meetings of the Monetary Committee – a semidetached, practically powerless cluster of ranking treasury and central bank officials. They met, without France, and they cooked up a compromise scheme for international monetary reform that could never have been ratified if the gold-conscious French had been there. The scheme may fail, but nonetheless it was born.

Of greater significance, the crisis has brought renewed attention to the question of British membership in the community. It came up first in terms of reshaping the community with France out and Britain in – an idea that did not really appeal to anyone. But when General de Gaulle got wind of it he started making friendly noises toward the British himself. On both sides of the Channel it is again an exciting idea.

As for the power structure within the community itself, some say that Germany, having stood unusually firm through this battle, has emerged as the EEC's new leader. The some who say it are not many. More surely, "the five" – as they have come to be called now – have proved that they have collective power. No doubt the French people helped. General de Gaulle reads election returns and realizes that he was forced into an unexpected run-off last December. The principal public issue of that campaign was his isolation of France in Europe.

In any event, he has been rebuffed. For better or for worse, the Common Market survives, its principles intact. In a major confrontation, the Europeans who think Europe should be outward looking withstood the hitherto effective assault of the Frenchman who thinks that it should look first to itself. RICHARD MOONEY

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The Search for Community

by Robert Coles

I find it hard to discuss the seven personal statements by "young radicals" that have appeared in these pages. When I was their age, in the late 50's, I was living in Mississippi and saw, as they see, the civil rights movement gain accelerating force, membership and national attention. Their vision of what has to be changed has become so sweeping that we call them "young radicals," though I remember them when their attention was riveted on a cup of coffee at the counter of a Greyhound terminal. Now they have left buses and cafeterias to live and work among sharecroppers or in tenement blocks; but, reading their essays, I feel the same mixture of uneasiness and admiration as I did years ago watching them prepare for the Freedom Rides and the Mississippi Summer Project, or visiting them in those dirty, disreputable jails whose continuing existence in this country seems to bother no one very important in the government – at least to any effect. An observer of the events they were in fact bringing to pass, a sympathizer only at times able to do what I could to be of use to the cause they were advancing, I have all along had to face the fact (and mixed blessing) that I am, finally, a well-wisher of theirs. I have never felt free enough to add my life's effort and my family's to the kind of criticism of this society these youths both make and live by.

There is something, after all, to be said for the significance of first memories – in the development not only of neurosis, but one's everyday assumptions about the world. If I grow up learning that in war cities with millions of inhabitants can be put out as if they were cigarettes, presumably I will be alarmed about *any*

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military struggle, near or far away. Of course it is apparent that millions can grow up under just such circumstances with no sacrifice of indifference. By measure of reality it is their cool neutrality which is, if not radical, absurd or suicidal. For that matter, the spectacle of technology harnessed to genocide preceded the development of the nuclear bomb. Youths all over Europe look at those pictures of gas ovens, and presumably wonder about their counterparts in the thirties. What did they do – or what *didn't* they do?

It is, then, not only the youth of these radicals that sets them off from many of us, but the particularly grim questions history now presents to them. Shifting from the apocalypse of atomic war to the local scene I am reminded of how often I have heard from them the meaning of civil rights to *their* generation. For young Negroes the generational struggle is as inevitable an event as it is for whites, but the past few years have made of that struggle something far more. Here is what I heard from a fifteen-year-old boy whose radicalism then was that of obeying a federal court order which insisted that he be the first Negro to enter a white school in his state: "It makes you wonder why your parents put up with what they did. I know, they had to; but they had to for so long that they forgot about keeping on their toes to end having to. That's what happened, and I guess that's why it has to be us in high school and college who will break down this segregation. My father, he knows too many reasons why everything I want to do won't work. He's right – but only for him. It's going to be different for me, though, because I know what I see, and it's not what he does. I see the lousy system running so scared that sometimes I hope it doesn't collapse *too* fast. After all, I want to be in there doing my share; I'd hate to find myself 21 and without a place to picket or a school to desegregate."

That youth was not the first one to remind me how different each generation's vision must be. Others have said more explicitly what he implied: just as his father is always ready with a plausible explanation of why a protest here or effort there won't work, even those who want change very much can progressively lose either their nerve or their spirit and settle for less than is possible, let alone desirable. Since the issue often is where one's feet are implanted – and thus involves a lot more about the individual's life than his age – I have for several years asked the activist students I know to spell out their radicalism in such a way that it differentiates them from what they again and again call the "liberal establishment." These articles do the job indirectly – most of the writers want to say what they believe in, or are against, rather than how their beliefs may be distinguished from those of others.

Yet, two summers ago in Mississippi I took part in a

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number of all-night sessions that hardly touched upon anything else. Always it was the question: "Are you a radical or a liberal?" Perhaps such distinctions were important to people living in "Freedom Houses" and under continual harassment. Certainly the discussions were a startling nightly contribution to the state's intellectual climate. As I struggled with what to say about the essays of these young radicals my wife suggested I add what another radical said to me during one of those talks. Her reason – which I here add as an uneasy prelude of my own – was that whatever made the student judge me not a radical might well explain what in fact a radical is. "I know you're here," he started out, at once taking away with a look and in the tone of his voice whatever defense he thought I would offer to his coming remarks. I had asked for bluntness and he was in an obliging mood:

"It's enough for *you* that you're here. (By 'you' I mean middle-class liberals, though I admit there's a wide range to their attitudes.) It won't be long before the summer is over, and then who will be on the firing line? The same people who always are day and night, year after year, since it all started a long time ago. You keep on saying that each person has his own contribution to make. I don't disagree with that. I just want everybody – you and I – to be sure we understand one another. You've got things to fall back on, things that are part of the system. That's the difference. You've got a profession and a comfortable income. You may be working with us full-time now, but you can fly back and forth between the middle-class world with its psychiatrists and what goes on here. You'll help us; you'll treat us; you'll give us money; but you can't really march with us. I'm not asking you to turn your back on your whole life, but I don't want you to forget the difference between your position and ours; because that difference causes our disagreements. The difference isn't that you have a family or are a few years older. Some of the best people in the movement have a lot of responsibilities, and we've never set an age limit. There are middle-aged people who have always been like us, just waiting for the

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time; and there are people I know who started being opposed to us when they were 10 and still are now that they're 20. To me there are two differences: how much of yourself you want to commit, and how much of the system you think needs the kind of change you're committing yourself to accomplish.

"A lot of the people here in Mississippi this summer think that if the sharecroppers had the vote, and a brick house instead of a wooden shack, and more surplus food, they would be 'free' – or at least free enough not to warrant another summer project. I disagree. I think there is something basically wrong with a society that lets things down here or in Harlem happen, and resists cleaning them up. It'll take generations even to give some of these people half a break, at the gradual rate things change. That's why I guess I'm a radical. We have the means to change things now, and I want the changes *now*.

"What we question is whole assumptions, while I think you get excited about specific injustices. I think that's the way it is because you have a lot going for you inside the system, so you're hung-up on what you know is best for you; or else you're able to be 'philosophical,' which is a middle-class luxury if there ever was one. I don't mean to single you out; it's the way things are. People like you have to think twice about what you say or do, and what so-and-so will think about your opinions, and all that. As you keep saying, it's rough on the white Southerner, and rough on middle-class people, too. Well, in a way, it's *not* rough on us. We may get shot, but we don't sit up half the night worrying and sweating about whether to sign a petition we believe in, or whether to come out in favor of something we believe, for fear the papers will call it 'radical.' That's freedom we have – and maybe we shouldn't give it up, even for a lot of money in the poverty program."

Work To Be Done

There was much more, a mixture I thought of devastatingly accurate observations, poignant asides, and tired, useless generalities. Like those who have just spoken out in these pages, he is still a young radical: the atom bomb haunts him; the vast, rigid, impersonal bureaucracy of the Soviet Union offers him nothing, but so does what General Eisenhower called our "military-industrial complex"; whatever ideology he has is very hard to categorize – it is less a set of beliefs than a way of looking and acting. He was bristling with suspiciousness, almost exuberant with awareness, and critical to the point of despair, yet through it all determined – and at all times willfully at work, doing.

That is what still comes through when I occasionally see him, and that is what I thought came through in these recent articles by his friends: critical outrage that is unafraid of rational analysis but not at all inclined to settle for it. There is work to be done, money and goods to be shared more fairly, power more justly divided. Despite those who would have them faddish enthusiasts, suddenly and narrowly in love with all that is Negro or poor, they do not spare anyone their attention. During the worst of it in Mississippi and elsewhere they have worried about the whites, and not only the rednecks and hillbillies among them. Relentlessly political, they yet look at the curious human and aesthetic problems that a wealthy, technological and bureaucratic society presents. "A managed society" is what worries them – a condition that characterizes both Wall Street and the Kremlin, each of whose ideological hands have been bound and tied by a proliferation of committees, boards, "lines of executive management," the horde of managers whose aim is to cover the land with expanded goods and services. One manager eyes the next to take his cue, but all know that words like "faith," "justice" or "excellence" are no longer relevant.

Fighting an army of well-to-do clerks is a hard job. They have everything from the latest Dictaphones and computers to an array of devastation that confirms their identity as true pagan deities. In politics they speak of nuclear "responses" and "deterrences" when millions of lives are in question. Their talk is all numbers and units – incomes risen, buildings finished, quotas met and surpassed. They dismiss any attempt to discuss the meaning of it all as old-fashioned. The bedrock of their ideology is morally neutral expertise.

Meanwhile people go on, speed on, luxuriate on. Who in bountiful suburbia can generate and then sustain the idealistic fervor needed to take on more than an occasional social problem? Everything is so difficult, or so incredibly complicated, or so tiring.

It does seem, though, that a few radicals are neither discouraged nor tired. They reject "pilot programs" which are really a way of postponing action that is obviously necessary. There comes a time, they feel, when a series of compromises and adjustments become in fact a terrible sellout. Whether I agree or not with the particulars they urge, I find them honest, brave, and compassionate, qualities perhaps commonly summoned in the daily rhetoric we must suffer, but nonetheless rare. There is, finally, something more about them that is special. They seem to want nothing less than a return to the ancient Greek idea of the *Polis*, the city whose people want not only knowledge, but knowledge of one another, the community whose citizens take and share concern with passionate responsibility. Perhaps they are mad for having that dream; and perhaps for the impossibility of its realization our lot is more hopeless than we know.

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A Case of Defamation

US Intelligence versus Juan Bosch—II

by Theodore Draper

Juan Bosch and the Communists did not collaborate and could not have collaborated in the preparation of last year's military revolt in the Dominican Republic, US officials to the contrary. The notion of such a conspiracy betrays an almost fathomless ignorance of Dominican political realities.

As I noted in my article last week, the overthrow of Juan Bosch in September 1963 was not followed by any visible countermeasures. We now know that a group of young army officers, headed by Colonel Rafael Fernández Domínguez, did begin almost immediately to plan to restore Bosch to power. But Col. Fernández Domínguez was soon suspected of subversive thoughts by Bosch's successors, and he was sent out of the country to serve as military attaché in Spain and Chile. Gradually, the circle of pro-Bosch military conspirators increased as the domestic political and economic situation deteriorated.

Bosch was fully aware of these developments. On one pretext or another, Col. Fernández Domínguez succeeded in getting to Puerto Rico to consult with him. Bosch on his part was careful to include the young officers in his pre-revolt calculations. In one of his most significant statements sent to the Dominican Republic from his exile in Puerto Rico, Bosch said:

"The hopes that democracy can be established in the Dominican Republic rest in the youth of about twenty years of age and in the great popular masses, and far more in the latter than in the former, because the former contains a Communist influence which will continue to spread to the same extent that the new dictatorship will prolong itself. And so when I speak of youth, I mean civilians, clergy and military, and when I speak of the popular masses, I mean those who belong to both the civil and military spheres. The young officers and the young clergymen do not live in isolation from the people or outside their own time." (*Ahora*, May 16, 1965.)

Bosch welcomed the upsurge of a young, "constitutionalist" group in the armed forces because he saw it as a way out of a mortal struggle by an unarmed people against a monolithic military machine. José Francisco Peña Gómez, who played a key role in the first days of the pro-Bosch '65 revolt, says: "The idea that it would be the military that would begin the revolution was first conceived by Juan Bosch, who told me, several times from his exile in Puerto Rico that the rebellion of a company of soldiers would spark a revolution in Santo Domingo and much of the military would then come over to our side."

This was not the Communist view. The Dominican Communists were strongly influenced by the Castroite doctrine that it was necessary to make the revolution against the army as a whole and to destroy the army as a whole with the revolution. This dogma was especially strong in the 14th of June Movement but it was also shared by the older Communist Party, the PSP. In November 1963, after Bosch's ouster, a small group of 14th of June militants had taken to the mountains and had tried to wage a Cuban-style guerrilla campaign. They were appallingly unprepared and ill-equipped; those not killed in battle were bestially slaughtered as prisoners. But this venture represented the 14th of June model of what a revolutionary struggle against the existing regime should resemble.

In August 1965, the Central Committee of the Dominican Communist Party (ex-PSP), published a self-criticism of the party's role in the '65 revolt entitled "The Party and the April Insurrection." When one recalls the degree of control over that 1965 revolt attributed to the PSP and other Communist groups by the highest US officials, it is hard to read these pages and to believe one's eyes. The self-criticism states that "our party was not prepared for the armed insurrection and for that reason was not capable of directing it." It reiterates: "In action, our party neglected the preparation of the armed insurrection and the military training of its members." It also confesses that "the April revolution gave evidence of another error by our party." This error was none other than the fact that the party had "assumed a sectarian position with respect to the

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THEODORE DRAPER'S *latest book*, Castroism: Theory and Practice, *was published by Praeger last year.*

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progressive, decent and liberal sectors of the armed forces." The document claims some credit for the Communists in the fighting *after* the revolt had broken out, but none at all in its preparation or conception.

It was the counterrevolution, not Bosch's party, which for a time created a *de facto* united front in the streets last year, and it was the intervention of US marines and paratroopers that gave substance to a common anti-interventionist cause. But it was the young, pro-Bosch officers, headed by Colonel Francisco Caamaño Deno and Naval Captain Manuel Ramon Montes Arache, who bore the brunt of the military struggle throughout, and for which the Communists were needlessly given credit. The Communists in the past have claimed mythical victories, but this would be the first time in history that they have failed to boast of a real one.

Intervention by the US

The evidence is now overwhelming that the '65 pro-Bosch bid for power would have been a bloodless success in the first 36 hours but for the subsequent realization by the Dominican military leaders that the US government did not want them to submit or the revolt to succeed. In his testimony before the Senate internal security subcommittee last October, General Wessin y Wessin graphically described the demoralized and defeatist state of the armed forces' leaders, with the exception of himself, in the first stage of the revolt.* Wessin said that he sent two of his aides to General Juan de los Santos Cespedes, chief of staff of the air force, to force him at gunpoint to give the order for the first air attack on the "rebel" forces in the late afternoon of April 25. Yet it is hardly likely that General Wessin, who admittedly had only 200 men at his disposal at the time, could have single-handedly turned the tide against the pro-Bosch forces. There is every reason to believe that a major, if not a decisive, role in rallying the armed forces' leaders against the revolt was played by the US military attachés who frantically called upon them to resist.

I have in my possession a copy of the anti-Bosch organ, *La Hoja*, of September 21, 1965, which blithely stated in an editorial:

"The movement which gathered strength on April 25, after having broken out the day before, would have obtained a resounding triumph and total success. A profound malaise and an unquestionable unpopularity of the Triumvirate [as the post-Bosch regime was called] had produced even in the most conservative sectors an acceptance of the [pro-Bosch] PRD leadership."

Until this point, the little Communist groups in the Dominican Republic had "missed the boat." Theoretically, they had cut themselves off from taking part in a revolt headed by younger officers. Tactically they had been rebuffed in their efforts to be admitted into the Boschist-Social Christian united front. In fact, two groups were initially stunned by the revolt and uncertain of their reaction – the armed forces' leaders and the Communist leaders – and both were spurred into action on opposite sides by US intervention. If a Communist conspiracy to set off the revolt did not exist, it had to be invented – and that was the function of the stories about the Boschist-Communist collaboration before April 24, 1965.

At the risk of belaboring a point, we should not forget one of the most perfect cases on record of fabricated intelligence. Apart from its historical or unhistorical interest, this little gem has another claim on our attention – it shows how bold or careless an "unimpeachable source" of impeachable evidence can be.

This unimpeachable source, as I wrote last week, told journalist Paul D. Bethel the following:

1. Juan Bosch met with two 14th of June leaders, Victoriano Félix and Rafael Traveras, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in March 1965, only one month before the revolt. Bosch agreed to "cooperate" with them. This "account" was "confirmed" for Senator Thomas Dodd by the US State Department.

2. Taveras arranged for an interview with Bosch which was broadcast over Radio Cristal on April 9, 1965, on the program, "Here is Santo Domingo," sponsored by the 14th of June Movement.

3. Bosch's message was "anti-American" and "pro-Communist." And "official Washington sources" again "confirmed" all these "facts."

My first act in checking this story was to ask Juan Bosch about it. He wrote me as follows:

"I heard the name Rafael (Fafa) Taveras for the first time on June 14, 1965, when he spoke in the name of the 14th of June party at a meeting held in Santo Domingo. I saw Sr. Taveras for the first time in my life after my return to the Dominican Republic in September 1965. It is difficult for me to believe that Sr. Taveras had been in Puerto Rico in March 1965, and of course it is an absolute lie that I had an interview with him in San Juan or in any other part of the world before the last days of September of last year when he came to visit me at my house."

But let us assume that we do not wish to take Sr. Bosch's word for it. A broadcast by Juan Bosch can

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* *General Wessin summed up the situation on April 24 as follows: "The chiefs of the army who were not in the conspiracy were on the run. . . . The Navy, with the exception of nine of its more than 30 ships of all types, was almost totally on the other side. Indecision continued at air force headquarters. . . . The police force's chiefs were indecisive and vacillating."*

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easily be checked in the Dominican newspapers. An "anti-American" and "pro-Communist" message by Bosch would, in Dominican terms, be the news sensation of the year. Until he was utterly dismayed and incensed by the US intervention last April, Bosch had scrupulously refrained from making any anti-US allusion, even in the most trying circumstances, and his enemies for the past quarter of a century would have given a small fortune to be able to use a single pro-Communist statement against him.

So I eagerly consulted the Dominican press of April 10, 1965 to check on this unprecedented anti-American and pro-Communist message by Juan Bosch.

El Caribe of that date ran a minor story headed: "Bosch Does Not Support Participation of PRD in Elections." After the lead paragraph, which reiterated the substance of the head, the story explained: "The former Dominican President was interviewed in Puerto Rico by Victoriano Félix, special representative of the *Agencia Dominicana de Noticias* [Dominican News Agency]. The interview was read on the program 'Here is Santo Domingo,' which Radio Cristal broadcast yesterday at 6:15 p.m."

The reason Bosch gave for refusing to take part in elections held by the Reid Cabral regime was that it would legalize an illegal government. The rest of the story merely elaborated on his criticism of the Reid Cabral regime and called on the Dominicans to fight against it "with their own forces" rather than to depend on others.

Had *El Caribe*, which has always been Bosch's journalistic *bête noire*, missed the chance of an editor's lifetime? How could it have failed to report Bosch's alleged anti-American and pro-Communist statements? But there was one more chance. Perhaps *Listín Diario*, a newspaper close to the Catholic hierarchy, had done its journalistic duty on April 10, 1965.

It had. But the story of the same broadcast was discouragingly headed: "Bosch Thinks It Will Be Difficult To Pay Dominican Debt." This referred to the public debt which had increased so astronomically in the recent past that Bosch thought it would take over 20 years to pay it off. The story mentioned that this statement had been made in a broadcast on the news program "Here is Santo Domingo" on Radio Cristal, but it did not even bother to mention the name of the interviewer. For 17 paragraphs, there was nothing that remotely resembled an anti-US or pro-Communist sentiment. Then my eye fell on the word "Washington," and I read more carefully:

"Bosch denied that Washington had frequently called him. He said that he had been in that city only in September 1962, in January 1963, and in June of last year."

That was all. The rest of the story was devoted to Bosch's contention that the country "was crushed by a mountain of fear" and his appeal to the people to fight it.

Thus, only three things were wrong with the Bethel-"official Washington sources" version of this interview:

1. It was given to Victoriano Félix, not Rafael Taveras.
2. It was sponsored by the Dominican News Agency, not by the 14th of June Movement.
3. It had no anti-American or pro-Communist message in it.

This story shows that it is dangerous to be too concrete in this kind of game. If Mr. Bethel had not mentioned the date of the broadcast, it might have been far more difficult to track it down.

The evidence that Juan Bosch did not enter into any pact, alliance, deal or working arrangement with the Dominican Communists or Castroites is so incontrovertible, by any reasonable standards, that one must ask: how could our "intelligence" agencies and officials of the State Department have brought themselves to put these stories into circulation or to give them the slightest credence?

Who Checked the Evidence?

We should first give these officials the benefit of a doubt and assume that they sincerely believed these stories. If so, what did they use as evidence? As we have seen, only Paul D. Bethel made any pretense of presenting any evidence at all – a manifesto put out by the Communist Party (PSP) on March 16, 1965, and Bosch's statements in the radio broadcast of April 9, 1965. But this type of evidence only deepens the mystery because a little ordinary research would have shown it was worth exactly nothing.

If we assume that the story of Bosch's connivance with the Communists was a lamentable, but honest, error, it follows that the entire US intelligence and research establishment in Santo Domingo and Washington did not know that *El Popular* and *El 1J4* had been openly and repeatedly denouncing Bosch for *not* making an alliance with the Communists. Is it conceivable that an embassy which was so jumpy about the Communist menace in the Dominican Republic did not scrutinize every line in these publications?

Or consider the problem of that same April 9th broadcast. If Bosch had lent himself to a program sponsored by the 14th of June Movement, and even worse had made "anti-American" and "pro-Communist" statements on it, that would at least be *prima facie* evidence that something questionable had been going on between him and the Communists. But who sponsored this program and what Bosch said on it are questions

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of fact that can be checked in the Dominican newspapers of the following day.

If the people who trafficked in these calumnies really believed in them, we are confronted with a case of monumental incompetence. If our present intelligence and research setup can get us into a predicament on the scale of armed intervention in a small, defenseless Latin American country, we would be better off without any setup at all. Indeed, it is so hard to believe that incompetence of such staggering proportions is possible, that we are driven to entertain another theory to account for this campaign of slander. Could this have been another "cover story" our intelligence agencies put out for others to believe?

If so, it would not be the first one. We know of at least two other "cover stories" that misfired.

The first, in May 1960, was put out in the name of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to explain how a U-2 plane happened to be shot down near the city of Sverdlovsk in the heart of the Soviet Union. The second, in April 1961, was attributed to a Cuban pilot, by way of the United States Immigration Service, to account for the bombing of Cuban airfields the day before the Bay of Pigs invasion. Both stories covered their authors with little but shame. It is particularly ironic to recall two of the reactions to the U-2 incident. "If blunders have been made," said Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, then Majority Leader, "the American people can be certain that Congress will go into them thoroughly." Senator Hubert H. Humphrey drew this lesson from the fiasco: "Mr. Khrushchev has us on the run in the propaganda battle right now, making us look sick, and I'll tell you why – because we haven't been telling the truth."

Who's Deceiving Whom?

I do not wish to waste much indignation on these two unfortunate examples. But neither can the dangers inherent in these practices be ignored. Intelligence agencies do not put out cover stories in their own name or they would be wasting their time and talents. The game requires that the stories should be planted in such a way that they seem to come from more or less respectable, credible sources. The U-2 story was foisted on NASA precisely because that agency enjoyed a high degree of seemingly innocent scientific prestige. The Cuban pilot's alleged statement emanated from the United States Immigration Service, a less impressive but still plausible source for the confessions of a Cuban "defector." Fidel Castro knew that his airfields had been bombed by a non-Cuban plane. The cover story was aimed at an altogether different audience – in the United States and the world at large. And this aspect of the operation may hold the gravest danger. This danger arises because the confusion or deception must be perpetrated through the press. Our own press must be confused or deceived first in order to get the cover story before the public. The risk is greatest at precisely this point, because the US press is in the best position to expose the make-believe, as it did in the case of the Cuban pilot. But if it succeeds in exposing the make-believe, who is serving the national interest? When a government official or agency lies, it presumably does so in what it considers to be the national interest. Is the newspaperman who exposes the lie also acting in the national interest?

This dilemma has in the last few years spawned a cynical doctrine to the effect that the government has the right to use the press as it sees fit, and it is up to the press to protect itself against government manipulation and fabrication. In its most extreme form this doctrine is represented by the cover story. The agency most responsible for a policy also creates a reality or pseudo-reality to make the policy more acceptable to its people or the rest of the world. Intelligence agencies have come so far that they create an illusion of reality to fit the policy rather than a policy to fit the reality.

It is not my intention to oversimplify the problem. I do not mean that governments are obliged to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth in all circumstances. The U-2 and B-26 episodes were designed to cover up actions against avowed antagonists. *But the stories of a Boschist-Communist plot made an antagonist of an avowed friend.* The Kennedy Administration had, after all, ardently supported Juan Bosch in power. As their own pre-revolt statements demonstrate, the Dominican Communists mainly feared that Bosch would get back into power with US support.

We still do not know what was behind the anti-Bosch campaign. We cannot make amends for a wrong of such enormity or even make sure that it will not happen again as long as those responsible for it are protected from public scrutiny. The intelligence establishment has become what is virtually a state within a state on the ground that it cannot be investigated or supervised without hampering its highly secretive operations. But if an intelligence agency can get us into, or cannot save us from, a monstrosity on the order of our Dominican policy, it is hard to see how anything can make it do worse than it is doing. If the smearing of Juan Bosch was the result of sheer, almost incomprehensible incompetence, it signifies a frightening condition and portent. If it was the latest and grossest cover story, it is in some ways even more frightening. What happened to Juan Bosch is only one side of the coin; what has happened to the United States to make such an abuse of power possible is the other.

This is the second of two articles.

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A NEW REPUBLIC SUPPLEMENT

Kennan on Vietnam

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 10, 1966 solicited the views of George F. Kennan on Vietnam. The next day, February 11, President Johnson told newsmen "there is not a great deal of difference" between what Mr. Kennan said and "what the government is doing." As a diplomat, Mr. Kennan served in Berlin, Vienna, Prague and Lisbon. He has been the chief long-range adviser to the Secretary of State, a member of the Policy Planning Staff, United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union and to Yugoslavia and is the author of American Diplomacy, 1900-1950, Realities of American Foreign Policy *and* Russia Leaves the West, *for which he won a Pulitzer Prize. Mr. Kennan's statement follows.*

The Chairman [*Mr. Fulbright*]: We are very fortunate, indeed, this morning to have the Honorable George F. Kennan as our witness. Mr. Kennan today is with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. He has had an outstanding record with 30 years observance of our foreign affairs. . . . He compiled, I think, a record unequaled or equaled by very few men during the course of that period. I think he is one of the most distinguished career foreign service officers who has served as Ambassador that we have ever had. He is one of the most thoughtful and scholarly men that I have known to occupy positions in our government. Perhaps most important of all, since his retirement as Ambassador to Yugoslavia he has had time to reflect upon and to contemplate and to think about the various afflictions of our world and particularly of our own country, and this is something which very few of us in Washington are able to do. . . . He has no present connection with the government and is, therefore, quite independent to express himself in any way he sees fit.

Ambassador Kennan: Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members of the Foreign Relations Committee, the subject on which I am invited to give my views this morning is, as I understand it, the complex of problems connected with our present involvement in Vietnam. I would like to explain in undertaking to speak to this subject, that Southeast Asia is a part of the world for which I can claim no specialized knowledge. I am not familiar with the official rationale of our policy there except as it has been revealed in the press. I cannot recall that I have ever, either during my official service in government or subsequently, been drawn by the Executive Branch of our government into consultation on the problem of our policy in Southeast Asia, or even been made privy to the official discussions by which that policy was decided.

I am sure that there are many data that are relevant to any thoroughly founded judgment on these matters which are not available to me, and this being the case, I have tried in recent weeks and months not to jump to final conclusions even in my own thoughts, to remain sympathetically receptive, both to our government's explanations of the very real difficulties it has faced and to the doubts and questions of its serious critics.

I have not been anxious to press my views on the public but I gladly give them to you for whatever they are worth, claiming no particular merit for them except

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perhaps that they flow from experience with Communist affairs that runs back now for some 38 years, and also from the deepest and most troubled sort of concern that we should find the proper course, the right course, at this truly crucial moment.

The first point I would like to make is that if we were not already involved as we are today in Vietnam, I would know of no reason why we should wish to become so involved, and I could think of several reasons why we should wish not to.

Vietnam is not a region of major military, industrial importance. It is difficult to believe that any decisive developments of the world situation would be determined in normal circumstances by what happens on that territory. If it were not for the considerations of prestige that arise precisely out of our present involvement, even a situation in which South Vietnam was controlled exclusively by the Viet Cong, while regrettable, and no doubt morally unwarranted, would not, in my opinion, present dangers great enough to justify our direct military intervention.

Given the situation that exists today in the relations among the leading Communist powers, and by that I have, of course, in mind primarily the Soviet-Chinese conflict, there is every likelihood that a Communist regime in South Vietnam would follow a fairly independent course.

There is no reason to suspect that such a regime would find it either necessary or desirable in present circumstances to function simply as a passive puppet and instrument of Chinese power. And as for the danger that its establishment there would unleash similar tendencies in neighboring countries, this, I think, would depend largely on the manner in which it came into power.

In the light of what has recently happened in Indonesia, and on the Indian subcontinent, the danger of the so-called domino effect, that is the effect that would be produced by a limited Communist success in South Vietnam, seems to me to be considerably less than it was when the main decisions were taken that have led to our present involvement.

Let me stress, I do not say that that danger does not exist, I say that it is less than it was a year or two ago when we got into this involvement.

The Assumption of Capitulation

From the long-term standpoint, therefore, and on principle, I think our military involvement in Vietnam has to be recognized as unfortunate, as something we would not choose deliberately, if the choice were ours to make all over again today, and by the same token, I think it should be our government's aim to liquidate this involvement just as soon as this can be done without inordinate damage to our own prestige or to the stability of conditions in that area.

It is obvious on the other hand that this involvement is today a fact. It creates a new situation. It raises new questions ulterior to the long-term problem which have to be taken into account; a precipitate and disorderly withdrawal could represent in present circumstances a disservice to our own interests, and even to world peace greater than any that might have been involved by our failure to engage ourselves there in the first place.

This is a reality which, if there is to be any peaceful resolution of this conflict, is going to have to be recognized both by the more critical of our friends and by our adversaries.

But at the same time, I have great misgivings about any deliberate expansion of hostilities on our part directed to the achievement of something called "victory" – if by the use of that term we envisage the complete disappearance of the recalcitrance with which we are now faced, the formal submission by the adversary to our will, and the complete realization of our present stated political aims.

I doubt that these things can be achieved even by the most formidable military successes.

There seems to be an impression about that if we bring sufficient military pressure to bear there will occur at some point something in the nature of a political capitulation on the other side. I think this is a most dangerous assumption. I don't say that it is absolutely impossible, but it is a dangerous assumption in the light of the experience we have had with Communist elements in the past.

The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong have between them a great deal of space and manpower to give up if they have to, and the Chinese can give them more if they need it. Fidelity to the Communist tradition would dictate that if really pressed to extremity on the military level, these people should disappear entirely from the open scene and fall back exclusively on an underground political and military existence rather than to accept terms that would be openly humiliating and would represent in their eyes the betrayal of the future political prospects of the cause to which they are dedicated.

Any total rooting out of the Viet Cong from the territory of South Vietnam could be achieved, if it could be achieved at all, only at the cost of a degree of damage to civilian life and of civilian suffering generally, for which I would not like to see this country responsible.

And to attempt to crush North Vietnamese strength to a point where Hanoi could no longer give any support for Viet Cong political activity in the South,

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would almost certainly, it seems to me, have the effect of bringing in Chinese forces at some point, whether formally or in the guise of volunteers, thus involving us in a military conflict with Communist China on one of the most unfavorable theaters of hostility that we could possibly choose.

This is not the only reason why I think we should do everything possible to avoid the escalation of this conflict. There is another one which is no less weighty, and this is the effect the conflict is already having on our policies and interests further afield. This involvement seems to me to represent a grievous misplacement of emphasis on our foreign policies as a whole.

The Sacrifice of Other Interests

Not only are great and potentially more important questions of world affairs not receiving, as a consequence of our involvement in Vietnam, the attention they should be receiving, but in some instances assets we already enjoy and, hopefully, possibilities we should be developing, are being sacrificed to this unpromising involvement in a remote and secondary theater. Our relations with the Soviet Union have suffered grievously as was to be expected, and this at a time when far more important things were involved in those relations than what is ultimately involved in Vietnam and when we had special reason, I think, to cultivate those relations. And more unfortunate still, in my opinion, is the damage being done to the feelings entertained for us by the Japanese people. The confidence and the good disposition of the Japanese is the greatest asset we have had and the greatest asset we could have in East Asia. As the greatest industrial complex in the entire Far East, and the only place where the sinews of modern war can be produced on a formidable scale there, Japan is of vital importance to us and indeed to the prospects generally of peace and stability in East Asia.

There is no success we could have in Vietnam that would conceivably warrant, in my opinion, the sacrifice by us of the confidence and goodwill of the Japanese people.

Yet, I fear that we abuse that confidence and goodwill in the most serious way when we press the military struggle in Vietnam, and particularly when we press it by means of strategic bombing, a process to which the Japanese for historical reasons are peculiarly sensitive and averse.

I mention Japan particularly because it is an outstanding example, both in importance and in the intensity of the feelings aroused, of the psychological damage that is being done in many parts of the world by the prosecution of this conflict, and that will be done in even greater measure if the hostilities become still more bloody and tragic as a result of our deliberate effort.

It is clear that however justified our action may be in our own eyes, it has failed to win either enthusiasm or confidence even among peoples normally friendly to us.

Our motives are widely misinterpreted, and the spectacle, the spectacle emphasized and reproduced in thousands of press photographs and stories that appear in the press of the world, the spectacle of Americans inflicting grievous injury on the lives of a poor and helpless people, and particularly a people of different race and color, no matter how warranted by military necessity or by the excesses of the adversary our operations may seem to us to be or may genuinely be, this spectacle produces reactions among millions of people throughout the world profoundly detrimental to the image we would like them to hold of this country. I am not saying that this is just or right. I am saying that this is so, and that it is bound in the circumstances to be so, and a victory purchased at the price of further such damage would be a hollow one in terms of our world interests, no matter what advantages it might hold from the standpoint of developments on the local scene.

Now, these are the reasons, gentlemen, why I hope that our government will restrict our military operations in Vietnam to the minimum necessary to assure the security of our forces, and to maintain our military presence there until we can achieve a satisfactory peaceful resolution of the conflict, and these are the reasons why I hope that we will continue to pursue vigorously, and I may say consistently, the question – the questions for such a peaceful resolution of the conflict – even if this involves some moderation of our stated objectives, and even if the resulting settlement appears to us as something less than ideal.

I cannot, of course, judge the military necessities of our situation. But everything that I can learn about its political aspects suggests to me that General Gavin is on the right track in his suggestions that we should, if I understood him correctly, decide what limited areas we can safely police and defend, and restrict ourselves largely to the maintenance of our position there. I have listened with interest to the arguments that have been brought forward in opposition to his views, and I must say that I have not been much impressed with some of them. When I am told that it would be difficult to defend such enclaves it is hard for me to understand why it would be easier to defend the far greater areas to which presumably a successful escalation of our military activity would bring us.

I also find it difficult, for reasons that I won't take

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time to go into here, to believe that our allies, and particularly our Western European allies, most of whom themselves have given up great territories within recent years, and sometimes in a very statesmanlike way, I find it hard to believe that we would be subject to great reproach or loss of confidence at their hands simply because we followed a defensive rather than an offensive strategy in Vietnam at this time.

In matters such as this, it is not, in my experience, what you do that is mainly decisive. It is how you do it, and I would submit that there is more respect to be won in the opinion of this world by a resolute and courageous liquidation of unsound positions than by the most stubborn pursuit of extravagant or unpromising objectives.

And finally, when I hear it said that to adopt a defensive strategy in South Vietnam would be to rat on our commitment to the government of that territory I am a little bewildered. I would like to know what that commitment really consists of, and how and when it was incurred. What seems to be involved here is an obligation on our part not only to defend the frontiers of a certain political entity against outside attack, but to assure the internal security of its government in circumstances where that government is unable to assure that security by its own means.

Now, any such obligation is one that goes obviously considerably further in its implications than the normal obligations of a military alliance.

If we did not incur such an obligation in any formal way, then I think we should not be inventing it for ourselves and assuring ourselves that we are bound by it today.

But if we did incur it, then I do fail to understand how it was possible to enter into any such commitment otherwise than through the constitutional processes which were meant to come into play when even commitments of lesser import than this were undertaken.

What Our Responsibility Is

Now, just two concluding observations: I would like it understood that what I have said here implies nothing but the highest respect and admiration for the fighting qualities of our forces in the field. I have the greatest confidence in them, men and commanders alike. I have no doubt, in fact, that they can and will, if duty requires, produce before this thing is over military results that will surprise both our skeptical friends and our arrogant adversaries. It is not their fighting qualities, it is the purpose to which they are being employed that evokes my skepticism.

Secondly, I would like to say I am trying to look at this whole problem not from the moral standpoint but from the practical one. I see in the Viet Cong a band of ruthless fanatics, partly misled, perhaps by the propaganda that has been drummed into them, but cruel in their purposes, dictatorial, and oppressive in their aims. I am not conscious of having any sympathy for them. I think their claim to represent the people of South Vietnam is unfounded and arrogant and outrageous. A country which fell under this exclusive power would have my deepest sympathy, and I would hope that this eventuality, at any rate, would be avoided by a restrained and moderate policy on our part in South Vietnam.

But, our country should not be asked, and should not ask of itself, to shoulder the main burden of determining the political realities in any other country, and particularly not in one remote from our shores, from our culture, and from the experience of our people. This is not only not our business, but I don't think we can do it successfully.

In saying this, I am only paraphrasing, and very poorly, the words once uttered by one who had at one time been a member of the United States Senate, and who, had a Foreign Relations Committee existed in his day, would unquestionably have been a member of it. This was John Quincy Adams, and I would like your permission to recall, before I close, the words of his that I have in mind. They were spoken in this city 145 years ago on the 4th of July, 1821. Some of you may be familiar with them but they stand repeating at this moment:

"Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there," Adams said, "will be America's heart, her benedictions, and her prayers. But she goes not abroad," he went on, "in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and by the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standards of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force. . . . She might become the dictatress of the world. She would no longer be the ruler of her own spirit."

Now, gentlemen, I don't know exactly what John Quincy Adams had in mind when he spoke those words, but I think that without knowing it, he spoke very directly and very pertinently to us here today.

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Questions and Answers

Senator Hickenlooper: What do you think the result of a sudden precipitate withdrawal of our activities in South Vietnam would be?

Mr. Kennan: I think it would be exploited mercilessly by the Chinese and the North Vietnamese.

Senator Hickenlooper: Do you think it would have a substantial effect on Indonesia and its future political attitudes?

Mr. Kennan: No, sir, I do not. It seems to me that what has happened in Indonesia in recent weeks has been of such finality that we are not going to face much of a Communist danger there for some time.

Senator Hickenlooper: Do you think it would have an effect on Cambodia and Laos?

Mr. Kennan: You know I am not sure that I am really qualified to answer that question. I should not think that it would have a great effect on Cambodia because it seems to me that the government of that country is already so concerned to stay close to the Chinese that I don't think they could get much closer without submitting to inclusion into the Chinese state. I think that probably the most dangerous effect of this might be on Thailand, but I don't know. I agree that the effect would be unfortunate.

Senator Hickenlooper: Do you think there would be an ascertainable effect on the Philippines because of the enhanced Chinese influence and standing in their propaganda that they had been instrumental in supporting the defeat of the United States or its withdrawal there?

Mr. Kennan: Senator, I ought to emphasize as I answer these questions that in my opinion a great deal depends on how these things are done. If we get out in a gradual way, if there is some sort of political compromise which can help to explain our departure, that is one thing. But if we simply turned tail and fled the scene, obviously we would do great damage around, and I am not advocating anything of that sort.

I personally think that even if we were to withdraw at an early date from South Vietnam, there is no reason for the Filipinos to get jittery. The Viet Cong have no amphibious capacity and are not going to pursue us across the Philippine Islands or anything like that. It depends largely on the Filipinos themselves. They have the wherewithal to assure their own security if they want to do it; it is a question of their morale and their determination. They have done it before and they can do it again if they had to.

Senator Hickenlooper: Do you think the rather immediate withdrawal of the United States forces and our activity in South Vietnam from that country could be used effectively as a propaganda tool and weapon in Africa and in the emerging nations of Africa?

Mr. Kennan: Senator, it would be a six months' sensation, but I dare say we would survive it in the end, and there would be another day. Things happen awfully fast on the international scene, and people's memories are very short. If we run our mind back over the crises of recent years and ask ourselves what has become of them, we can realize, I believe, the truth of that statement. There was a time when we were all hot and bothered over the Lebanon and landing troops there. A year or two ago no one would ever have thought that the Cyprus crisis would be as quiet as it is today. These things pass more rapidly than one might think.

Senator Gore: Mr. Ambassador, for reasons which you have stated more eloquently and with more erudition than I have been able to summon, I have long thought this was an unadvisable adventure for the United States. Behind the closed doors of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a long while ago, I asked this question of Secretary Rusk. I cannot give his reply now, but I would like to ask you the same question today: "Now to view this problem in the context of a decade hence, what is your assessment of its bearing upon the possibility that the Soviet Union may or may not continue on the course of rapprochement with the Western powers which has been underway now since the confrontation of 1961, thus possibly reentering the European society or conversely becoming more closely aligned with Red China, not only in a push into the Pacific but aligned more closely in a more aggressive international Communist thrust."

Mr. Kennan: Senator Gore, a year ago this month in a public lecture at Princeton University which was repeated on one of the two occasions in which I have spoken publicly I believe on this Vietnam problem, I tried to make the point that if we pressed our intervention in Vietnam, the Soviet government would see no choice but to come down strongly against us, and to enter into a sort of a competition with the Chinese to see who could look most critical of our policies, and most dedicated and violent in their defense of the Viet Cong. I said that they would do this even if it had to proceed at the expense of Soviet-American relations. This is exactly what has happened. The effect of the Vietnamese crisis, conflict, is not to restore the unity between the Soviet Union and Communist China. I think things have gone too far for that. But it is to give to their rivalry a form very undesirable from the standpoint of our interests and the interests of world peace, namely, the form of a contest to see who can look the most anti-American, the most critical of our policies, who can appear to be the most violent defender of what they call the national liberation movements.

The reasons why the Soviet leaders have seen themselves compelled to move in this direction are ones for which I can take no responsibility; they don't commend themselves to my sympathies but I can see why they exist if you try to look at it from their point of view, and this seems to me a most unfortunate development of world affairs generally.

I think that we must have more important problems than Vietnam to thrash out eventually with the Soviet Union, problems of disarmament, and problems of the halting of the pro-

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liferation of nuclear weaponry, and the still great and vital problem of Germany, which is, to my mind, the most important specific political-geographic problem in the world. All of this, as I see it, is in suspense while this Vietnam conflict proceeds, and the effect of the Vietnam conflict on the Soviet Union has been, I fear, to make it more difficult for us to discuss these things in a useful way with the Soviet leaders.

I am not saying that if Vietnam, if the Vietnam conflict, did not exist, I am sure that we could have agreements with the Soviet leaders on these points. I think this would take a long time, and a great deal of patience, but I think we should have kept the pressure on, and I think we might make progress slowly. At any rate, that was the way things looked a year or so ago. Unfortunately, they do not look that way today, and I attribute this to the operation of the logic of the situation which we have in South Vietnam.

Senator Gore: If the war in Vietnam should be escalated or by some unfortunate incident, God forbid, war comes between the United States and China, would it be within the purview of possibility that Russia would again, seeing us bogged down, press her point of view in Berlin, and seek to work her machinations in Latin America and elsewhere?

Mr. Kennan: It is certainly within the realm of possibility, and one of the things that worries me most about an extension of our present commitment in Vietnam, is that it might leave us very poorly prepared to face crises that might arise in other areas of the world. I think it has already caused a diversion of our attention and our resources to a point that holds dangers for the balance of our world responsibilities elsewhere, and if we are now, as some people fear, to double the amount of the manpower and the resources we are putting into Vietnam, I am afraid that we would not be in a good position to defend our interests in other areas if they were suddenly challenged.

Senator Carlson: Why have the Soviets appeared to be reluctant to play any sort of peacekeeping role similar to the one that they played at Tashkent recently?

Mr. Kennan: I believe it is because they are being pushed so hard by the Chinese. It is my observation that any Marxist detests being outflanked to the left by any other Marxist. And they are very sensitive to criticisms that they are aiding the imperialists, doing the work of the imperialists. . . .

Senator Carlson: If we cannot expect any help from the Soviet Union in regard to negotiations on the Geneva Conference of 1954, is it possible that, or is there a likelihood, there might be Soviet intervention in this situation we are in?

Mr. Kennan: Military intervention?

Senator Carlson: Military intervention.

Mr. Kennan: I see no likelihood of that . . .

Senator Carlson: What are your thoughts on Chinese intervention?

Mr. Kennan: I think the Chinese, too, obviously would like to stay out of it, and will unless they feel that our military operations are taking forms that become really dangerous to them, either in the straight military sense or in the sense of prestige. I think that if we bomb too freely or if we get operating too close to their borders, it will bring them in. Now, whether it will bring them in in a formal sense, as I have already said, or whether they will do what they did in Korea and send troops in under the flimsy and shabby excuse that these are volunteers, I couldn't say. I would suspect it might be the latter.

But it doesn't matter much from the standpoint of the problem this presents for us, whether they come as volunteers or as regular Chinese troops.

Senator Lausche: Would you advocate allowing the people of South Vietnam by open, free elections, supervised by the United Nations or by an international body so authorized to hold elections and determine whether they want a Communist government or a government leaning to the free world?

Mr. Kennan: I think it would be very fine if one could have such a test of opinion, but I doubt that it would be possible in the conditions that prevail to date.

Senator Lausche: Who stands in the way of it? Does the United States or Red China and Hanoi? Who stands in the way of it? Isn't the President and the United States urging that course?

Mr. Kennan: Senator, it seems to me that the whole situation stands in the way of it. You could not have such an election in a civil war situation.

Senator Lausche: All right. All right, if that is your answer, now I ask you hasn't the United States government and the people of the United States probed every avenue through which there could be discussion toward reaching a settlement and that there has been constant rebuttal of those efforts by China and by Hanoi?

Mr. Kennan: It is correct that we have got nowhere.

Senator Lausche: All right. Now, who is to blame if that is the effect?

Mr. Kennan: Perhaps the reasons go deeper than a mere question of blame on either side. Obviously, it seems to me, the other side has much more blame for this than we have.

Senator Lausche: If we do pull out, let's assume that we determined that, would that be the end of our troubles or would we be confronted with new troubles in Thailand and Burma and Malaysia and Indonesia and other places?

Mr. Kennan: I think it is likely that we would certainly be confronted with new troubles because this is a very troubled part of the world and conditions there generally are not favorable from our standpoint.

Senator Williams: Had you been in a position of authority at the time what decisions do you think you would have made that were any different from those that were made?

Mr. Kennan: . . . I think probably if there was any point where we went wrong it was in putting fighting men ashore for purposes of combat. Possibly even the instructors for the South Vietnamese forces were warranted by the situation. It is difficult for me as an outsider far away to tell. But . . . perhaps we should have thought much more carefully before we put combat units ashore. It has been my belief for many years, and it is a belief based on the fact that I had at one time to make a very careful study of our difficulties in connection with the intervention in Russia in 1918, it has been

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my belief that one should be very, very careful about ever putting American forces ashore into a situation of this sort, unless one can see clearly how and at what point one can get them out again. . . .

Senator Williams: Well . . . recognizing that we are at this point, we do have a couple of hundred thousand men in there, what would you recommend that we do now?

Mr. Kennan: I would recommend that we not expand either our own commitment of men [or] resources to this conflict, that we try to limit the conflict rather than to expand it, that we adopt in general a defensive strategy and put ourselves in a position where we cannot be hurried, where we cannot be panicked, where we can afford to wait, and let the logic of this situation then gradually sink in on our opponents, and I think then there is a possibility that with a little greater patience than we have shown thus far, possibilities for an acceptable resolution of the conflict may open up. By an acceptable resolution of it, I do not say that this will be one which will hold any triumphs or indeed any great satisfaction from our standpoint.

Senator Church: . . . Apart from what happens in Vietnam, aren't we going to be facing a situation in this vast region of the undeveloped world which will be fairly beset by revolutions for many years to come?

Mr. Kennan: Yes. By violence of all sorts, I think.

Senator Church: And don't you think then we have to begin to devise a new policy?

Mr. Kennan: Yes.

Senator Church: Not based upon the fixed concepts which were suitable for Europe but a new policy designed to cope with the phenomena of revolution in the newly developing parts of the world?

Mr. Kennan: I do, indeed.

Senator Church: Do you think we have yet begun to develop that new policy?

Mr. Kennan: No, I don't and I think we find ourselves hampered in that by the slogans and the semantic symbols of the past. I wish we could drop all these things and look at these situations realistically. I think we could perhaps devise an approach to these problems, let's say, rather than a policy, which would be much more effective than the sort of talking we have been doing among ourselves in recent years.

Senator Clark: In my opinion, the major thrust of our American foreign policy today should be the most difficult task of arriving at an overall *détente* with the Soviet Union in the interests of world peace. I wonder if you would agree with that and whether you would care to elaborate?

Mr. Kennan: I agree very strongly with that because I think that the greatest dangers to world peace still lie in the area of our relations with the Soviet Union. Not that I think that either of us wants a great war, but when you still have such unresolved problems as the continuing proliferation of nuclear weaponry, and the great outstanding differences over Germany, differences which are becoming, after all, potentially more explosive and dangerous from year to year as the military strength of the Western German government increases, so long as you have those problems, I think that the most important questions we have to face lie in the field of our relations with the Soviet Union.

Senator Clark: I take it, sir, that you would also be of the view that Russia's present problems and needs, economic and social, are not so different from our own but that such a *détente* would be in the realm of a very skillful diplomacy exercised over a considerable period of time.

Mr. Kennan: Yes, in the realm of a skillful but a very patient diplomacy. I don't think these successes are to be had at any early date. I think some sort of a resolution of the Vietnam conflict is a prerequisite for them, but I am not unhopeful about the long-term future of our relations with Russia. May I just say here that I have never looked for any Utopia in our relations with Russia. We are two great different nations in different situations in different parts of the globe. The relations between two such peoples are always complicated and there always will be elements in which we do not see eye to eye. . . . But, when I look back on those days when the so-called containment policy was formed, it seems to me we have made a good deal of progress in our relations with Russia since that time, and that things are better than they were then, and this is a very important recognition, and if we could make that sort of progress over the past 20 years, I think there are possibilities that we could make it over the next 20 and we ought to cherish them.

Senator Clark: You would agree, I take it, that the Soviet leaders and, indeed, the Soviet people, need both peace and reasonably good relations with Western countries almost as much as we need the same thing from them.

Mr. Kennan: They do, and I think they are conscious of that need.

Senator Clark: Now, my understanding is that you feel the present situation in Communist China is somewhat different on the ground that they are in the early stages of a revolution, a belligerent stage. . . .

Mr. Kennan: I think that at the moment the Chinese Communist leaders are in an extremely difficult and almost hysterical state of mind. They have had frustrations of one sort and another both internally and externally over the course of recent years. I believe they are really weaker than they like to admit. They are very troubled by what does seem to them to be a sort of encirclement, and an exclusion for which admittedly they are themselves mainly to blame, from the councils of the world. But this puts them into a highly excitable and irritated state of mind, and I think there is very little opportunity of talking with them or dealing effectively with them today. On the other hand, I do not feel that they have the capability to create much mischief beyond the Asian land mass. I am not really too terribly worried about the island territories of the Pacific. I think [Peking has] suffered an enormous reverse in Indonesia, and one of great significance, and one that does rather confine any realistic hopes they may have for the expansion of their authority, confine it pretty much to the Asian land mass, most of which in East Asia they already occupy.

I think it will take a long time before we could deal with them effectively. But meanwhile, I think that we should leave them alone. I don't think that it is necessary . . . or desirable for us to try to solve this vast problem

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by military means. I don't think it is susceptible to solution by military means any more than the problem of Vietnam is. I am quite prepared to recognize that we face a great and serious problem in the cultivation by the Chinese Communists of a nuclear striking capacity. I don't wish to minimize that for a moment. But I would prefer to see us tackle that problem and approach it by finding as soon as we can an acceptable ending to the conflict in Vietnam, and then pursuing with the Soviet government and even with the French, agreements which would permit us to bring the pressure of world opinion to bear a little more effectively on the Chinese. . . . Things will change in China, as they changed in Russia. They always do. A new generation of Chinese leaders will come. They could scarcely be worse in their attitude toward us than the present one, and as I look over the history of international affairs, it seems to me that the counsels of patience and restraint have been more effective as a general rule, than the counsels of violence and unleashing unlimited violence.

Senator Symington: I have heard in other briefings that it is estimated the number of American casualties in this war is about the same as the number of North Vietnamese casualties . . . our bombing has resulted in, in North Vietnam. Would not that figure tend to show that we have tried to be very careful not to kill or wound people in North Vietnam?

Mr. Kennan: It would, and I have no doubt that this is the case. But unfortunately in this world, what things seem is often more important than what things are, and we stand under certain handicaps. Anything that a great big powerful white nation such as ours does, is going to be interpreted to our disadvantage, if there is any way to do it.

Senator Symington: . . . Do you not feel that there is some right to consider the poor and helpless people that the Viet Cong are chopping up in the villages, 3,000 of them leaders last year. Should that not be taken into consideration?

Mr. Kennan: I have no brief to hold for the Viet Cong here, and as I have said here, I do not think these judgments are even fair to us. But I think that this is the way the world is. I think a country of our strength is forgiven less than these fellows are forgiven.

Senator Case: I take it that one of our problems here is that we are facing a kind of aggression which is not so easy to recognize and not so clear perhaps, what the Communist Chinese particularly call wars of national liberation, as opposed to the kind of aggression where armies mobilize along a frontier and then cross and we have this very direct physical occupation of foreign territory. Now, I take it you do not disagree that the former, that is the kind we face now, is just as much aggression as the latter, is that correct?

Mr. Kennan: Senator Case, I think the use of the word "aggression" with what we are facing today in Vietnam is confusing. I think that this present conflict has so complicated a background, so long a background, so much of it does result from things that have happened within South Vietnam and not outside of it. Not only that, but the border between North and South Vietnam is of a curious quality. It was not meant originally to be the border between states. All these things seem to me to indicate that when one uses the term "aggression" as our – some of the people in our own government have been using it – one confuses the issue. This is, of course, in part, if you will, the invasion of one country, if one wants to describe it that way, by forces of another country, although all of these things involve stretching of terms. But in any case, it is not just that. It is also a civil conflict within South Vietnam, and one of greater seriousness, I think. I do not think that we can afford to delude ourselves that the Viet Cong are simply an external force or a force that would not exist if there were not external encouragement. They might not be so strong, but all accounts indicate that they were fairly strong years ago before they had this help from the North Vietnamese.

Senator Case: You would not disagree that there can be as serious aggression by means of bribery, by means of terror, by means of other use of native dissident elements as there is, has been historically, by crossing another country's border with your troops.

Mr. Kennan: I would certainly agree that the effects can be no less serious and final and that this presents a great problem. But I think we ought to be careful to identify it insofar as it is that, as a question of internal unrest and insubordination, if you will, rather than a question of external attack.

Senator Sparkman: Mr. Kennan, I want to say to you, sir, that I have always had a very high regard for your opinions. I followed them down through the years, even back in the early days of containment. You have referred to it here. How can we contain in Vietnam?

Mr. Kennan: Of course the answer to that depends on whether one is talking about the long term or the short term. Our intervention there has created conditions which affect this question very vitally today, but which would not be applicable over the long term, and if you are talking about the long term, I sometimes think that we would do better in situations of this sort, although there are no two of them alike of course, but we would do better if we really would show ourselves a little more relaxed and less terrified of what happens in certainly the smaller countries of Asia and Africa, and not jump around like an elephant frightened by a mouse every time these things occur. It is my feeling that no one is going to be able to draw blood from a stone, and no one is going to make much more out of these territories than what is in them, and I do not think that even the Communists in most instances are going to do anything with these territories that is necessarily going to be as tragic as we think. Sometimes we make the problem worse than it is by the size of our own alarm and jitteriness. We are a very great power and we could absorb probably more of this sort of thing than one thinks. Other peoples have their troubles, too, and sometimes a bit of jujitsu, letting the other fellow fall on his face, might not be the worst way of dealing with certain of these problems. A great many Americans are concerned, for example, about Castro in Cuba, and at times they have had good reason to be, and I do not for a moment underestimate the seriousness of the crisis we faced there some years ago. But it does seem to me that we must carefully stack up our advantages

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against our disadvantages in these situations. For the first time in a long, long time, someone else pays the bills in Cuba, someone else is getting milked, someone else has the problems of dealing with the Cuban regime. For once we can sit by, and personally I do not think that the Russians are going to have any great satisfaction out of their involvement in Cuba over the long run. I think they will liquidate it by themselves in the course of time. I only cite this as an example to show that very often the situation will tolerate more than we think it would, and by our interference we raise questions of prestige which need not have been raised, and which give to these events sometimes an unfavorable quality from our standpoint that they would not otherwise have attained. . . .

Senator Sparkman: In your statement you refer to a satisfactory peaceful resolution of the conflict, and you have referred to it here Could you state to us what the elements of such a settlement would be?

Mr. Kennan: . . . Eventually there must be some sort of a political compromise between the various factions involved in South Vietnam. And I am afraid that others, as I say, are going to have to work this out – and the South Vietnamese themselves. But there are a number of factions there. It is not [just] Viet Cong and their opponents. There are Catholics, there are Buddhists, there are Montagnards, and there are a lot of people who have fingers in that pie and at some point, perhaps they, who I must say are rarely lacking in political resourcefulness when they want to do something, they may cook up compromises which today look impossible to us. I do not think that anything of this sort can occur in the present atmosphere of sharp conflict and great nervousness on both sides, and this is why I would like to see things quiet down. . . .

Senator Aiken: . . . Assuming that we do have a commitment there [in Vietnam] would you say there is any point beyond which we should not go in meeting that commitment?

Mr. Kennan: Senator, I cannot imagine that anyone with any degree of responsible concern for the fortunes of the people of this country, could ever have given to any foreign political authority an unlimited commitment on our resources and our manpower. I just do not see how this is conceivable. There are a great many countries in the world besides Vietnam, and we have many other obligations and responsibilities, and it seems to me out of the question that we should assume any such obligation toward anyone else or feel that we had it even in a moral sense.

After all, our first duty is to ourselves and to the life of our own people here, and to their prosperity, and I would be strongly averse, I would fight with every fiber of my own being against the suggestion that we should ever give to any foreign political authority anything in the nature of an indefinite commitment on the resources of this country. . . . I always find myself caught up short when I see the way that this struggle is often referred to today in our public debates, and people talk about our living up to our commitments, and we must fulfill our commitments to these people.

Well, these commitments as we now interpret them, go very far indeed. They go, as I pointed out here, farther than the normal military alliance. To commit yourself in any way to assure the internal security of another government, means to commit yourself to interference in the most vital process of its own internal political life, and this seems to me a commitment of such seriousness that it should not be lightly or casually slipped into. . . .

Senator Case: What I had in mind, just to pursue the balance of my time at least in this round, was your thoughts about the extent to which we have a responsibility in the world for world peace, the extent to which in the absence of world order run by law with courts and a system of enforcing court orders, this country has to act as Britain did at [a] time gone by. . . . Now, the other side of the coin, I suppose, would be to say we have no function, no responsibility in this matter at all. So long as our fairly immediate security is not involved we can wash our hands of the world. Do you move in this direction in your thinking? . . .

Mr. Kennan: Senator, that question goes very deep, and it puts me in a sense on the defensive because I find that . . . now that I am behind the barrier of 60 years I find myself with more and more sympathy for the concepts of foreign policy that prevailed in this country in an earlier time, and I find myself, if you will, in many respects sort of a neo-isolationist. . . . We have an enormous responsibility with regard to world peace. We are in many respects the most powerful nation in the world, and in most important respects, and there certainly is no nation which, if its affairs are handled prudently and well and thoughtfully, can contribute more than we can to preserving the peace of the world. I do think, though, what we have to bear in mind here mainly is preserving the peace between the great powers. . . .

I do not have any illusions that we can stop all violence everywhere in the world. I think that the slogan which Litvinoff, the Soviet foreign affairs commissar, used to mouth so frequently in the '30s, that peace is indivisible, that this is not correct; it is in fact a horrendous doctrine. Men have always fought, they are always going to. We must hope now that the great powers such as ourselves and Russia are aware of the fact that the weapons in our hands are of such terribleness that we cannot afford to do this any more. And I think we are coming to this realization, that . . . what we have in our hands is so terrible that we cannot afford the luxury of settling affairs with each other the way people have traditionally all through human history. But there are a great many new nations, small nations, nations with inexperienced governments, nations with shallow traditions of national life, dotted all around this world.

Believe me, they are going to fight with each other, and it seems to me that our role here as a great power must be to try to isolate, to moderate these conflicts, to settle them as quickly and as easily as we can, not to worry too much about the issues, because there will be right and wrong on both sides, but to try to keep these local conflicts from doing great damage to world peace.

Now, the problem we face with relation to Vietnam today is how do we best serve world peace at this moment? Do we serve it best by increasing the measure of our involvement in Viet-

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nam? By trying to root out the Viet Cong by fire and sword? By increasing the intensity of this conflict in a single area to the neglect, I must say, of our world responsibilities, our responsibilities in other areas? Or do we serve it better by trying as best we can, to bring about some sort of a resolution of the fighting in Vietnam and applying ourselves then again imaginatively and courageously and enthusiastically to the solution of the great, really great, and fateful problems that we still have outstanding with the Soviet Union. . . .

The Chairman [*Mr. Fulbright*]: What do you think of the reports of the recent meeting in Honolulu? The reason it bothers me is that we have further committed ourselves to a point where any kind of negotiated settlement short of what is called victory would be considered a betrayal of our commitments. This is what bothers me. I wonder if you could comment on that?

Mr. Kennan: There are a number of things to say about this. . . . It does seem to me that if we had wanted to develop to the utmost the prospects for a peaceful solution of this conflict, the first thing we should have been concerned to do at this time was to retain the independence of our position and not to get it any more closely associated than it has to be with that of another political authority which shares only in part our interest and our aspirations. . . .

I can recall Secretary of State Hay getting the European powers to sign up to declarations of high virtuousness of intent in the open door crisis in 1898, declarations which didn't affect their behavior, nor, I may say, ours, very deeply in the succeeding years.

Now, I hope that this will not be the case with the Honolulu Declaration. God grant that there is some reality in this, and some understanding on the other side for these things as we see them. But experience does not suggest that there is, and it is this sort of thing that bothers me.

The Chairman: Do you have any reason to believe that General Ky has any deep understanding of this kind of a document?

Mr. Kennan: Well, this is precisely what seems to me to be implausible. I have no doubt that General Ky has many estimable qualities and I would not for a moment want to speak in a manner derogatory to his person and his personal qualities, but nevertheless he has grown up in a wholly different political atmosphere than our people have, and I simply – I am simply skeptical that he, signing such a document, could mean the same thing with these words that we do, and if he does not, there is apt to be a day of reckoning. This is what diplomatic history shows.

Senator Morse: We hear a lot of comparison [of] the situation in Vietnam with Munich. Those of us who . . . are against this escalation and this unilateral American war in Vietnam, we are told we are a bunch of Chamberlains. Would you give us your view as to what the analogous relationship, if anything, between this war and the situation at the time of Munich or between Mao and Hitler might be?

Mr. Kennan: I think they are entirely different things, and I think that no episode, perhaps, in modern history has led to, has been more misleading than that of the Munich conference. It has given to many people the idea that never must one attempt to make any sort of a political accommodation in any circumstances. This is, of course, a fatally unfortunate conclusion. Hitler was, thank heaven, a unique phenomenon, I think, and circumstances existed there that did indeed make it fatuous to think that you could arrive at that point at an agreement with him, that would preserve the peace of Europe.

But these were specific circumstances and I think the wrong conclusions can be drawn and have been drawn time and time again from this. Hitler was a man who had made up his mind that he was going to conquer Europe by force of arms according to a certain timetable. I have never seen the evidence of anything comparable to that state of mind on the part of our Communist opponents, and for this reason, I have had to struggle for years against the attempt of people to apply the Munich precedent to the problem of containing Soviet power.

Senator Hickenlooper: Do you consider that the Chinese abandoned the idea of international Communism – that force and force of arms is the ultimate weapon which may be necessary to advance their international aims and ambitions?

Mr. Kennan: Not at all. On the contrary, I think they are quite committed to such means, and I don't doubt that Chinese Communist leaders would love to unleash the bloodiest sort of revolutions in every country that they can think of that is not Communist.

Senator Hickenlooper: I will get down to the wars of liberation in just a moment. But I am trying to see what you think about the Chinese at the present time. . . . Isn't it reasonable to assume that the Chinese are, in effect, urging the North Vietnamese on as a part or as a cat's paw in this idea of advancing Communism clear down the end of the peninsula?

Mr. Kennan: Oh, yes, it is. . . . I think it is unquestionable they are urging the North Vietnamese on, but, of course, this situation suits the Chinese book very well. They have someone, they have us, locked into a conflict there with somebody else, and they want these people to bleed us as long and as profusely as possible.

Senator Hickenlooper: You mean they follow the philosophy of let's you and him fight?

Mr. Kennan: Senator, I think the Chinese are the passionate partisans of a war between anybody else and the United States, anybody else except China.

Senator Hickenlooper: Before lunch we were talking for a moment about the situation as it exists. . . . We are in, we are like the fellow who is out in the water drowning, we don't necessarily stand on the bank and quarrel as to how he got in there, the job is to get him out, and it is in that context that I want to discuss this with you for just a moment. . . . What choices do we have?

Mr. Kennan: I see three basic choices: One is to multiply our military effort in the hope that somehow or another we can overcome all the resistance with which we are faced in that area, and settle things according to our own ideas. This means an escalation of the war. It means from what I pick up from the press, that is all I have to go on, it means at least the doubling of our forces there and possibly more so, and

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it means a great deal more physical damage done within the country. It means –

Senator Hickenlooper: Would you say that that particular line would, if successful, mean the military defeat of North Vietnam?

Mr. Kennan: That would be its purpose, I should think eventually because we would have to stamp that source of resistance out. That is one alternative.

Senator Hickenlooper: Go on with the others.

Mr. Kennan: A second alternative is – probably it was better stated here by General Gavin in the military sense than I could state it – but that is to adopt basically a defensive strategy, to try to give an opportunity there for a simmering down of hostilities, to let the whole situation quiet down, to hang onto certain areas as a bargaining counter for the future, and see what gives. And to strive in every way possible for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. . . .

Senator Hickenlooper: That would involve the enclaves?

Mr. Kennan: That would involve the enclaves idea. The third alternative would be to just get right out. I would like to say one thing that I have not had occasion to say today, that I favor the second of these alternatives, of course. . . . But if these alternatives were to be narrowed down to two, only to an unlimited commitment to something called victory which I don't quite understand in this area, or to a withdrawal, then I am not sure that I would not prefer the second. Fortunately, they are not that today.

Senator Hickenlooper: All the evidence I have seen is that the Viet Cong unless it has changed within the last few days or weeks, holds more than 50 percent while we may control some of the other area, some of the other cities, but this is what puzzles me about the enclave theory. It seems to me that in the enclave theory we would be holding certain strong points at certain places, and [in] the rest of the country around there the Viet Cong could run wild and organize the country and what would we be doing in there. We would be merely sitting and holding and subject to periodic and frequent attacks at their convenience.

Mr. Kennan: Of course the South Vietnamese themselves, according to the figures again that are published in the papers have forces considerably larger numerically than do the Viet Cong. I was surprised to see a day or so ago in a column in the papers written by a friend of mine, and opposing the idea of the enclaves, the statement that if we settle down to a defensive strategy there such as General Gavin proposed, we could just wipe out the entire South Vietnamese forces as a factor in the situation; that they would become demoralized and nonexistent as a factor in the situation overnight. I can only say if this is true, if this is so weak a reed as this, then I would very, very seriously question how much we wanted to have our fate linked to these people.

Senator Carlson: You stated in response to a question, and this is not an exact quote but as I took it down, "We cannot order the political realities or views of other nations by our military power."

Mr. Kennan: I am talking about the internal affairs of other people here, and about our entering into those internal affairs and deciding what sort of political conditions shall prevail, and this gives me opportunity to say something that I feel very strongly about. . . . It has been my conviction for many years that no assistance of this sort can be effective unless the people themselves have a very high degree of determination and a willingness to help themselves. The moment they begin to place the bulk of the burden on us, I think the whole situation is lost. . . .

Senator Symington: For what it is worth, I believe South Vietnamese could handle the Viet Cong without too much difficulty if it were not for what they were getting from the Red Chinese and the North Vietnamese down through the Ho Chi Minh trail. When were you there in Vietnam?

Mr. Kennan: I have never been there.

Senator Symington: Never have been there.

Mr. Kennan: I am conscious of the limited responses of what I can offer.

Senator Symington: [This morning you said] "There seems to be an impression that, if we bring sufficient military pressure to bear, there will occur at some point something in the nature of a political capitulation by the other side. I think this is a most dangerous assumption. The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong have, between them, a great deal of space and manpower to give up, if they have to, and the Chinese can give them more if they need it." That is a recognition of the one place that they have equality, if not superiority, namely in number of people, is that correct?

Mr. Kennan: Yes, sir.

Senator Symington: Nevertheless, even though that is where they exceed us, and we exceed them qualitatively in sea and air power, you would not use that sea and air power in North Vietnam, is that correct?

Mr. Kennan: Well, it would depend on the purpose, Senator, for which you are doing this. . . . I have a feeling that you can bomb these oil supplies and means of communication in North Vietnam [but] I must say that it seems to me that the results of bombing of this sort, not just in this war but in others, have not been quite what we were led to expect or to hope that they would be.

But let us say that they were effective. I still do not think that this would solve the problem. I think you are going to be faced with the fact that the Viet Cong will go on controlling bridges at night which we control during the daytime. I do not think we get to the guts of the problem through this.

Senator Symington: . . . Am I correct in feeling, that you would want to withdraw to these enclaves in South Vietnam?

Mr. Kennan: That strikes me as the most hopeful alternative. . . .

Senator Symington: Of course, there are 700,000 South Vietnamese fighting with us over there today, and their casualities are a great deal heavier than ours. If you go to the enclave theory then you automatically give up the assistance of 700,000 people, of whom only 5 percent are draftees, the rest are volunteers. Do you think that that would be a wise move from the standpoint of the additional casualties we would have in American forces that would be carried on without the assistance of the 700,000?

Mr. Kennan: Senator, I would be very interested to know why one of those things follows from the other. Why

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should we give up the support of the 700,000 and some Vietnamese because we concentrated on defending enclave areas?

Senator Symington: Well, of course, they hope ultimately that their villages will be free, and if we retire to these coastal enclaves and give up all the land that their families live on, and give their families up to the Viet Cong, what reason would there be for them wanting to continue to fight the war strictly in order to protect the Americans in the enclaves?

Mr. Kennan: Well, after all, it is their country, and these places that they hold are, if I am correct, over three times numerically what the Viet Cong have. If they have any extent of determination and resolve, can they not fight on their own behalf? Must they have us at their side?

Senator Symington: In the first place, I do not think they are over three times, but that is a detail.

Mr. Kennan: Yes.

Senator Symington: But in any case, they would be continually supported heavily by the Communists from the north and, therefore, they would find it extremely difficult to protect their villages against terrorism. . . . Morally do you think we have the right to desert them and go to the coastal enclaves?

Mr. Kennan: Senator, if their morale is so shaky that without an offensive strategy on their part they are simply going to give up the fight, I do not think they are worth helping anyway. And, as for the question of our having a moral obligation to them, they have had enormous help from us to date. I mean, goodness, they have had help in billions and billions of dollars. How many countries are you going to give such a claim on our resources and our help? If they cannot really do the trick with this, I feel strongly that the trouble lies somewhere with them and not with us, and I am not inclined to take the exclusive blame for this whole situation on to the United States and say that everything that goes wrong there or anything that cannot be done, it is our fault because we have not given it enough. . . .

Senator Symington: May I ask one more question on my time?

The Chairman: I will yield to you my time if you like.

Senator Symington: That is very kind of you, but I would like to pursue this because I am not quite clear.

Then you do not feel that Red China – and I ask it with great respect – is a serious menace to the United States today; is that a fair question?

Mr. Kennan: This is correct, except insofar as we have involved ourselves in the situation in Southeast Asia where we meet [China] on its own land mass. But in any place outside of that land mass today, I do not think it is a serious threat to us as things stand now. . . . I think there might be better ways of approaching on our part the problem created by the Chinese approach to the acquisition of a nuclear striking capacity than by trying to fight Vietnamese in Southeast Asia.

Senator Symington: Well, surely you do not mean that you would attack the nuclear developments.

Mr. Kennan: No.

Senator Symington: Then would you state what you mean?

Mr. Kennan: I think I would like to see us get back to the cultivation of our world relationships and to the pursuit of this whole question of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in talks with the Russians and with others, because I think that if we could develop the general agreement elsewhere in the world on this subject we might begin to bring some pressure to bear on the Chinese.

Senator Symington: I agree with you on that. But aren't we doing that? Isn't Mr. Foster in Geneva now trying very hard to reach some agreement with respect to proliferation?

Mr. Kennan: I think we could do a lot better if we did not have the complication in Vietnam, with the burden that that places on our relationships with other people.

Senator Symington: In other words, if we would get out of South Vietnam you think that would improve our possibilities of making a proliferation treaty with the Soviet?

Mr. Kennan: If the conflict there could be terminated, I think we could address ourselves to other problems of world affairs in a much more hopeful way. This is indeed my view.

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How to Take a Test

by James Ridgeway

The government recently promised to save most employees from answering questions on personality tests ("I like to talk about sex," – "I am a special agent of God"), but this is not likely to affect the tests' growing popularity elsewhere, particularly in business circles. *The Wall Street Journal* reports a typical example of a college senior who was interviewed by 10 different employers and put through 25 hours of personality quizzing. Personnel directors find the tests useful in identifying aging executives who are losing their pep. A trucking firm asks a prospective driver whether he is afraid of deep water, and whether he thinks women should be permitted in bars. Personnel people are convinced the pattern of response indicates whether a driver is responsible enough to work alone, aggressive enough to meet schedules, yet restrained enough to avoid accidents. There have been rumors that anyone desiring to drive an auto may one day need to take a personality test before getting a license. In the government, an employee may still be exposed to this sort of testing when he suffers what is known in the trade as a "nervous breakdown." This is one way government departments get rid of people they don't like. The employee is sent to a psychiatrist and given a medical discharge. Recently word was received from Winnipeg that before a minister can be considered for ordination, he must first take the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory.

Last year I met a government psychologist who was baffled by the protests the personality tests were stirring up in Congress. All he was seeking, after all, was to discover the measure of a job applicant's worldliness. Thus, in answering true or false to, "There is something wrong with my sex organs," the psychologist could only hope the applicant had enough sense to say false. If a young woman should complete the sentence "I hate . . ." with "I hate my mother," alarm signals would ring, not because the examiners cared about the young lady's relationship with her mother, but because only an ass would say that on application for a job in the United States government.

How To Beat Personality Tests
by Charles Alex
(Arc; $1.45)

Approaching the personality test as a game, a new little handbook called *How to Beat Personality Tests*, by Charles Alex, is invaluable. Mr. Alex runs through the different sorts of questions incorporated into many of the tests and tells how to reply. Some of his advice follows:

Psychologists are keen on sex; in general, remember when answering such questions to select the most heterosexual answers possible. Thus: true or false, "The best times in my life have been with men rather than women." If you are a man, the answer is false. The best times in anyone's life are sexual. You also would answer false to "Terribly feminine women are untrustworthy." To the tester the real man's woman is the heroine of a Victorian novel. You must have the maximum of femininity in the women you associate with. To the question, "A good pal is the finest human relationship possible,"

Assignment

Luna Nine, mission accomplished, swivel your eyes
downward to Vietnam and see if you could
land softly there and send us signals of what
goes on.
Or is the layer of dust too thick, the weather of lies
too dense for landing? Luna Nine, you should
pierce the haze, find in the cover of leaves
what our soldiers never reach – the Vietcong hiding,
crouching and crawling in the burnt-up rice –
all those thin
little men no bigger than boys who elude
our bigger boys. See if you can
send pictures of their small stomachs, their dogged minds
and the empty ones of their southern brothers dulled,
by incessant war, to will or choice.
Luna Nine,
transmit the cortex of Ky and let us see
the brain of Ho. Show us the wombs
of village mothers, seeded to replace
the small lives spindled, folded, stapled, mutilated
by this war.
We have
pictures enough of shattered bodies, theirs and ours, we need
a special vision: the computer eye, freed
from the warping and wavering of mortal sight, the words
of victory, right, prestige, and all that fogs
the lens. Quick, Luna Nine –
land – transmit –
reveal.

MARYA MANNES

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one would answer false. To do otherwise would suggest a less than perfect confidence in marital relationships.

To questions such as "I get queasy at the sight of blood," or "I find crowded subways disgusting," the answers for men are false. A man's man has a strong stomach, and is insensitive to blood, odors, rough language and disgusting remarks while eating.

The safest course (male) is to betray no cultural or aesthetic interests of any kind. Therefore, you would answer false to "I enjoy ballet." To the statement, "If I have to spend a night alone I prefer to 1) read a mystery novel, 2) read Shakespeare, 3) watch TV," you should prefer to watch TV. Second best would be reading the mystery novel. "Control groups of successful businessmen have shown them to be cultural nonentities who are without aesthetic interests," Mr. Alex says.

A modest interest in religion is acceptable. But you should answer false to "I read the Bible regularly." In the practical world people do not have time to read the Bible regularly, and if they do they are slightly off. One may be a member of a church, but not too regular a churchgoer. A church member who is indifferent to dogma is the best risk. When confronted with the statement, "I am an atheist," you must answer false. An atheist is a rebel and nobody wants to hire a rebel.

An employee with a sense of humor is thought to be more likely to get on with people; this is considered an important trait in an executive. Some personality tests try to gauge an individual's sense of humor. Here is one question: "How do we save our souls? 1) Walk on our heels! 2) Put it in a safe deposit box 3) Be good." None of the answers are funny. But the correct one is the first, which is meant to be a pun on the words "souls" and "soles."

In a sentence completion section, the applicant is instructed to finish the sentence with whatever comes to his mind. This would be very foolish of him for the examiners are watching closely for evidence of disqualifying traits or neurotic symptoms. In general, try to be impersonal and objective, also optimistic and cheerful. If a personal relationship cannot be avoided, stress the normality of your relations with wife, children, fiancée, etc. Here is an example: "My worst experience . . . was an automobile accident four years ago." This is impersonal and brought on by understandable external circumstances. You would not want to write, "My worst experience . . . was the nightmares I had last summer when I had a fever." To the statement, "My mother . . .", you might answer "My mother was a real home-maker." Show sincere affection for both parents, but indicate where possible your independence of them. Watch out for Oedipus complex implications. For example, you would not say, "My mother is very dear to me."

An applicant for an important job may be given an ink blot test. Here, one is shown a series of cards with ink blots on them and then asked to tell what figures he sees in the blots. The examiner elicits further information by questioning. In describing what he sees in the ink blot, it is assumed the applicant will reveal his hopes, fears, anxieties, compulsions, obsessions, abnormalities and so on. Whatever you do, don't say the ink blots look like sex organs. The best thing, Mr. Alex says, is to try to see animals in motion. This is neutral and harmless. When taking the test, act puzzled about what is required of you. Alex puts together a model for dealing with ink blot examiners:

Q – Tell me what you see?
A – The blot has been imprinted on the card.
Q – What else?
A – So help me, if I knew the right answer, I'd tell you.
Q – There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell me whatever comes to your mind.
A – Believe me, I want to cooperate, but I'm baffled by what you want. I can't tell you what you want if you don't give me a hint of what's correct.
Q – Haven't you ever seen figures in the clouds as a child? It's like that.
A – Oh, that's what you want. Let me see, It's not a very good cloud, but some people might call it a cloud.
Q – You see a cloud?
A – That's what you said.
Q – No, the blots are like the clouds and you look for figures in them.
A – Oh, I see. It looks more like a bat flying along through the sky.
Q – You see a bat flying?
A – Is that wrong?
Q – There's nothing right or wrong. Where do you see this bat?
A – It's not the best bat in the world, but it's something like a bat. One of those bats that fly around on summer nights. Maybe it's more like a bug.
Q – You see a bug?
A – It could be one of those big dragon flies that you see flying over ponds in the summer. We used to call them dragon flies. . . .

According to Mr. Alex this sort of response would mark you as an intelligent, sociable, unimaginative, eminently normal individual by the criteria of most ink blot specialists.

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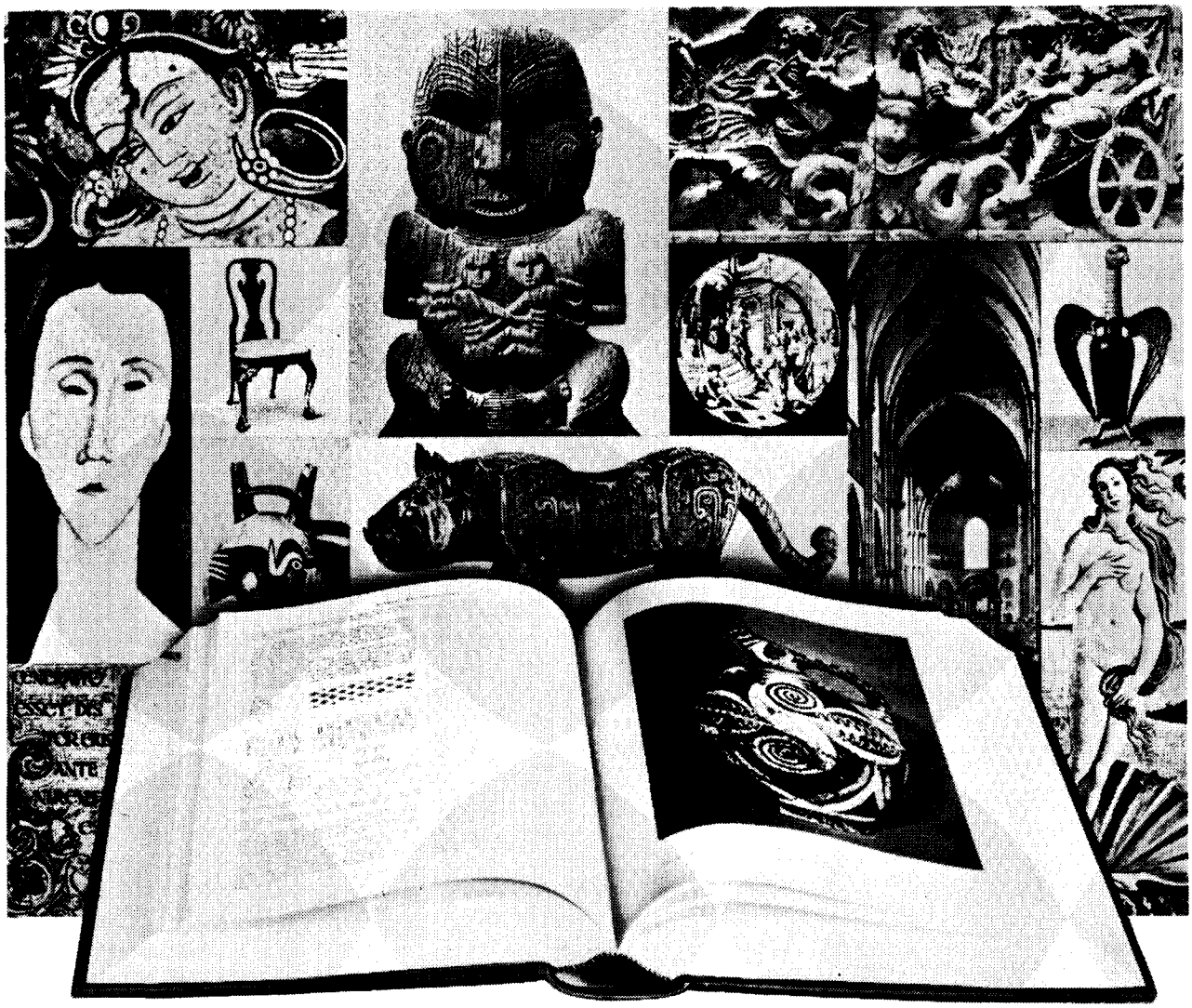

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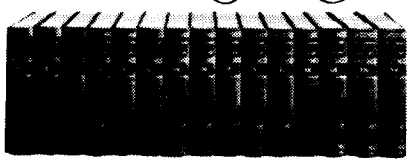

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The Word for Bail is Ransom

by Joseph Featherstone

Slowly that great, round, blank word "equality" is getting filled up with procedural and substantive meanings. In the process we are discovering how many cherished ideals are simply graceful figments of our minds. We are just beginning to see how far we shall have to travel before – to take only one example – the stately world of legal rhetoric matches the actual world of courts and jails.

Ransom
by Ronald Goldfarb
(Harper and Row; $5.95)

The beginning of wisdom is to look at the facts and find proper names for them. Ronald Goldfarb's angry and thoughtful study of the American bail system argues that the proper name for bail is ransom. He is not alone in his conviction. The reform spirit is high these days in the legal profession, and such figures as Robert Kennedy, Caleb Foote, Judge J. Skelly Wright, and former Justice Arthur Goldberg have spoken out against bail procedures. Mr. Goldfarb musters their arguments and his own in a way that the layman can follow, and few people, I think, will finish his book without recognizing that he has stated clearly and responsibly why the bail system is intolerable and what has to be done about it.

The first thing this study shows is that bail touches many lives. Ten to twelve million people a year need bail bonds, apart from traffic cases. Bonding is a $250 million business, and bondsmen are in the happy position of being able to turn customers away. In 1963 roughly 1,500,000 defendants went to jail, not because they were judged guilty, but because they lacked money to pay the price of a bond.

The requirement of bail thus imprisons vast numbers of people, many of whom are subsequently acquitted. Mr. Goldfarb cites shocking examples of how the gears grind against the poor. A bootblack, for instance, was charged with taking clothing from an automobile, and, not being able to afford bail, spent 121 days in jail before he was tried and acquitted. Another man languished over two years in prison for the same stupid reasons. Anywhere from 50 to 75 percent of the defendants in our major cities end up in jail for want of bail money.

A prison term without a trial is an outrage, because our system is supposed to presume a man's innocence until he's proven guilty. And subtler outrages are involved. Mr. Goldfarb shows evidence indicating that those out on bail fare much better in the courts than those who come into the courtroom still smelling of prison. Bail not only sets you free until you're tried, it increases your chances of winning your case and staying free. It does this for many reasons, some of them no doubt psychological: the main advantage is that a free man has the opportunity to prepare a good defense.

Besides bullying the poor, the bail system bullies the unpopular, particularly the people in the civil rights movement. The chapter on bail as a political weapon is one of the most illuminating. It suggests to me that those interested in law and order should widen the scope of their concerns. Oppressors must not be surprised if the beautiful adornments they admire look to others like whips and scourges. Mr. Goldfarb sets out in detail how bail is denied and set absurdly high, the ways in which it has become an effective means of persecuting people asserting their rights.

The system is also, Mr. Goldfarb persuasively argues, an unnecessary locus of corruption. Like other professions who sit in public facilities, bondsmen like to sing the praises of free enterprise. You would sing, too, if you had all the advantages of being a public utility and no onerous responsibilities; if you, like the bondsman, had figured out a way to individualize your profits and socialize your losses. But the corruption of the system does not lie in the profits bondsmen make or the responsibilities they shirk: it lies in the fact that these knights of enterprise in many cities implicate the police and the courts in big-time racketeering.

Finally, a major weakness of the bail system is that it doesn't work. It provides inadequate protection for society, since altogether too many dangerous criminals can afford bail – for example, racketeers running a bond business are not likely to have any trouble obtaining bonds. And there is evidence to support the suggestion, prompted by common sense, that pledged money is not really a very effective inducement to get people to show up for a trial. The utility of bail has been most seriously called into question by the splendid experiments in New York City started by the Vera Foundation. The foundation has set up machinery for screening defendants and releasing them on their own word without bail. In its experiments, more people out on bail failed to return than those screened by Vera and released without bail. As Mr. Goldfarb shows, many other cities are experimenting with abolishing bail and substituting alternatives like Vera's Manhattan Project – or much more extensive use of summonses.

What must be done is to insist that careful screening and release without bail be made the rule, not the exception. There will be abuses, for any system of screening will have to rely on somewhat unreliable standards, and it is a safe bet that the scales of justice will continue to tip against the poor. But things will be better for them without bail. Mr. Goldfarb ends with suggestions which lawyers and reformers will want to study. For the public it will be quite enough if, one way or an-

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other, the abuses he describes die a speedy death.

Once when I was working for a newspaper, a friend who considered my education hopelessly academic used to lead me around to the courts and police stations. One afternoon we watched bondsmen size up customers for bail bonds. They weren't such bad people, and they did their best to avoid any painful confrontation with risks – the deadbeats, the very poor, and the unlucky. They preferred to look a prospect over while he was talking to somebody else, the police or a court official. The eyes moved over shoes and clothing, stopping briefly at watches and rings. Something for a security, a job, or connections were important, one natty little runner for an insurance company told me, but so was "the way a man carried himself." This last sounded elusive to me, and I thought of J. P. Morgan, who used to give loans on the basis of something mysterious called character. But as the afternoon went on, I came to see that the phrase meant something precise: offers of bonds often went to those who looked as if they could afford what Arthur Goldberg calls "checkbook justice." The bondsman's appraisal was surprising and dismaying. You expect bad smells, bored cops, frightened faces, the dreary rumors of trouble coming in clanks and scuffles down the corridors, but you're never prepared enough for the cynicism of the bail system and what it suggests about the ideal of equal justice for all.

A Greek in England

by Honor Tracy

Reading Nikos Kazantzakis on England may remind some people of the man who was about to lecture on Patagonia and, before beginning, asked if anyone present had ever been there. Nobody had. "Then," he said, "I shall be able to speak freely." This author evidently felt himself to be in a similar case with results that are often diverting. Time and again he describes a scene or reports a conversation that anyone familiar with the country or the people will find it hard to swallow. For example, writing of the British Army stationed in Crete many years ago, he tells us how some of the officers climbed Mt. Psiloritis and changed for dinner on the frozen peak. In the alleged words of their guide they "put on some black trousers pressed just right, white waistcoats and starched shirts. And then they sat down and started eating. . . . 'God Almighty', said I, 'what men are these?' Very simply, they were Englishmen." In his romantic way Kazantzakis thinks of the evening bath, shave and change of apparel as a mark of strenuousness, like a gunboat exercise or a cricket match, whereas on the contrary it is a sign of relaxation, of the day's work being done; and by that absurd little touch of tricking the officers out in civilian kit he over-eggs the pudding and opens our mind to a dark suspicion.

England
by Nikos Kazantzakis
translated by Amy Mims
(Simon & Schuster; $5)

He stands by London docks musing over the warehouses round him that are stuffed with good things from all over the world, apparently under the impression that it's all for free. "The whole earth and sea collaborate in order to fill these warehouses. 'Our slaves begin at Calais,' an Englishman once remarked. The five continents carry their little presents to their master. . . ." No doubt in the days when things were properly managed, England exacted imperial tribute here and there but latterly she had to foot the bill; and that famous outburst, "For the English, Negroes begin at Calais," came from the anglophobe Frenchman Henri Massis.

Now and then his imagination runs off with him altogether. He describes Parliament assembling with all the members in "their frock coats and high shiny hats," an image he must have picked up from some Victorian engraving; and he talks of "ladies with bare

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bosoms [sic], rich gowns and expensive furs, reeking of powder and perfume" rushing through the rotten oranges in Covent Garden market to get to the Russian ballet, although the market shuts long before the opera house opens and ladies as rich as all that might almost hire a cab to bring them to the door. Of Westminster Cathedral he says, "All the architectural styles of England are reconciled in this building, one after the other from the 13th Century on. An organic continuity, faithful and obedient to tradition, a steady harmonized crystallization in stone of passing time." He has cheerfully muddled up Westminster Cathedral – that outsize Turkish bath down the road – with Westminster Abbey; and even in respect of the Abbey his comments do not hold water.

To write well of England, perhaps of any country, one may either know a great deal about it or else nothing at all, merely bringing to it a fresh eye and an honest pen. What Kazantzakis has done is to collect a number of inaccurate impressions and eagerly apply himself to their misinterpretation. Bibles were chained up not in Puritan households but in churches before the Reformation, in order that none but a clerk should open them: a fact he either does not know or discards to make room for a word-picture of the "yellowed pages, soiled by the sweaty fingers that had leafed though it [sic] so feverishly." He confuses the Puritan concept of the Elect with the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, arousing suspicion once more by putting this elementary error into the mouth of a "Puritan friend" who then, we are invited to believe, goes on to say that "the unique question for the Englishman is this: Do I belong to the church that will conquer the earth in the name of the Lord?"

The author is fascinated by the idea of the Empire, which he appears to envisage as being still in its heyday, although he is writing just before the Second World War, when the Dominions were independent, the withdrawal from India decided on, the self-governing of African and Asian colonies seen to be a matter of years only and, as far as the mass of the English people went, the imperial spirit was gone forever. He appears to imagine, too, that Kipling spoke for all England while in truth he was something of a voice crying in the wilderness trying to arouse in "flannelled fools" and "muddied oafs" his own sense of their destiny; indeed, he seems to think that he was still that voice, for on asking an Oxford graduate what was his favorite "song" the young man – so he assures us – promptly recited *If!* and this in a period when Kipling's reputation had never been lower and his name was a bit of a joke!

The translator has done little enough to help matters. Only once, at the author's version of the Wat Tyler rebellion, does she indulge in a mild corrective footnote: household expressions such as "crossing your bridges before you come to them" are turned back from the Greek in an unfamiliar form and the most famous of all Hamlet's soliloquies is wrongly quoted. And did Kazantzakis really say of the little country towns of England that "such has been their life for thousands of years, and such it will remain after thousands of years to come?" or did he not rather use some hyperbolic terms such as "aeons" or "ages"? Did he really describe Bernard Shaw's face as "satanic," and not by the stock "Mephistophelean"?

No translation can be blamed, however, for the incoherence of the book itelf, with the long, wholly irrelevant interpolations on Nietzsche, Assyrian bas reliefs, Persian miniatures, the Greek Spirit and so on. One has the feeling that it was taking shape in the author's mind before he ever landed at Dover and that from then on he was struggling to fit what he saw to his own preconceptions. Possibly his compatriots may winnow something out of it all but to the English-speaking public it will hardly be more than – as his favorite character would say – "words, words, words." Or, for that matter, *Po po po po po!* The Greeks have a word for it too.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Honor Tracy *is the author of* The Straight and Narrow Path. Everett Norlander *was for many years managing editor of* The Chicago Daily News. Robert Brustein *has just been appointed Dean of the Yale School of Drama.*

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From the Tribune's Ivory Tower

by Everett Norlander

After having been in rigorous competition with Robert Rutherford McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* for considerably more than a quarter of a century it is natural to have developed firm and occasionally disparaging conclusions about both the man and his newspaper.

These convictions seem to be shared to some extent by Frank C. Waldrop and possibly even strengthened by his four years as an officer, director and editor

McCormick of Chicago
by Frank C. Waldrop
(Prentice-Hall; $7.95)

of McCormick's Washington *Times-Herald* until he was allowed to resign, which he describes as an amiable fiction of being fired. Now some ten years after McCormick's death, Waldrop, again turned writer, has produced *McCormick of Chicago*, in an effort, he explains, to understand the man. A hopeless venture.

What success Waldrop expected is not clear, notwithstanding a book replete with index, appendices, source materials and photographs, including the one of the grinning, jubilant President Truman on the day after he had beaten Dewey for the presidency holding up for photographers *The Chicago Tribune's* front page with its famous or infamous 7-column line reading "Dewey Defeats Truman."

How *does* one understand a man who built the faltering *Tribune* into one of the most powerful and financially successful newspapers in the nation; who created in Canada a huge paper-making, power-generating, mining and shipping industry which not only guaranteed supplies for his newspaper but initiated a complete change in the economy of the region; who forced William Randolph Hearst to fold his morning *Examiner* in Chicago leaving that field solely to McCormick, and then, instead of heeding friendly advice to tone down his personal and vitriolic war with Roosevelt, increased it until it was inevitable that the President would finally wage battle with him?

This battle, told here in considerable detail, consisted among other things of FDR's encouraging the creation of a morning rival, *The Chicago Sun*, with the millions of Marshall Field III to support it. And when *The Sun*, against the vigorous opposition of McCormick, tried to get membership in the Associated Press, which until then was such a closed corporation that any publisher by his lone vote could keep any potential competitor out, Roosevelt's Department of Justice entered the battle.

McCormick had no intention of allowing Field to come into the AP. His fellow directors on the AP appealed to him to simmer down. Unthinkable. Instead he threatened other publishers that he would start newspapers to compete with them in their home towns unless they lined up with him. McCormick's furious war finally brought the AP into the courts, which the directors had tried valiantly to avoid. There the ruling went completely against McCormick and the AP and resulted eventually in the collapse of membership rules so highly prized by publishers. McCormick went down in total defeat.

Because McCormick used not only his editorial pages but his news columns to promote his own ideas and stifle those not to his liking, there is little brought to light not already of record. Waldrop apparently made a valiant but unsuccessful effort to learn how *The Tribune* obtained the Versailles Peace Treaty and published that fact on June 9, 1919, a single news item, argues Waldrop, that "destroyed the Peace of Versailles, defeated the League of Nations, generated Adolph Hitler, the Second World War and all that has come in its train."

"It was a charge," continues Waldrop, "to which McCormick and his family always showed a peculiar sensitivity. Their public rebuttal was that if the Wilson Peace Plan really had all the merit claimed for it, no newspaper's publication of its tenor could possibly have made much difference. But there was always something lacking in McCormick's discussion of how the treaty came to the paper. . . . The public record does not clarify in any way and McCormick himself died strangely

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vague on this most debated news article to appear in his lifetime in any publication anywhere."

As a young man McCormick had no official connection with *The Tribune*. Early in 1910 when he was about 30 years old, *The Tribune* was in crisis. Hearst had invaded Chicago with both an evening and a morning newspaper. Directors of *The Tribune* were meeting and were prepared to accept an offer from Victor Lawson, publisher of *The Chicago Daily News*, to buy *The Tribune* for $10 million. McCormick, quite by accident, learned of the meeting, argued with the directors for time and received not only the time but the presidency of *The Tribune* but without salary. He promptly induced his cousin Joseph Medill Patterson to join him in the venture and from that moment *The Tribune* began its great growth.

Externally the cousins had little in common. McCormick's public pose is described as "oracular, dour and unsmiling, correct but aloof." Patterson, on the contrary was "genuinely slouchy and likely to disappear on pub crawls." At the outset each took command of *The Tribune* for a month, "rotating direction so wildly neither staff nor readers could make head or tail of it." But their methods worked until their newspaper dominated the Chicago field in circulation and advertising.

After World War I in which both served, Patterson was ready to let McCormick have total control while he sought other interests. Here Waldrop repeats the tale that the two cousins met during the war and while sitting on a manure pile somewhere in France laid their plans for launching *The New York Daily News* which Cousin Joe then guided, leaving *The Tribune* solely to McCormick.

In his valiant effort to understand his subject, Mr. Waldrop includes samples of friendly "Dear Bert" and "Dear Frank" correspondence between President Roosevelt and McCormick, including the final letters in which the publisher invited the President and Mrs. Roosevelt "and at least a considerable part of your staff" to be his house guests when they came to Chicago to open the World's Fair in 1933. Events prevented the President's leaving Washington, but he wrote hoping "Dear Bert" would let him know when next he would be in the capital.

Not long afterwards came the numerous New Deal social changes including NRA, the National Recovery Act. These, argued McCormick, threatened the freedom of the press. From that point McCormick never looked back. Roosevelt was threatening freedom of the press and hence constitutional government and was therefore an enemy. Twenty years later Roosevelt was still the center of his passion.

McCormick was fearless. He was able in many fields. But he was merciless in his attacks through his newspaper against those who disagreed with him. Undoubtedly he believed, as Waldrop reasons, that he used *The Tribune* justly. But this is difficult to follow.

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Past Imperfect

by Alex Campbell

In an essay called *Vulgarity in Literature*, Aldous Huxley blew up Balzac for dabbling with "mesmeric fluids" and other 19th-Century scientific mumbo-jumbo in some of his stories. Huxley complained that Balzac's job as a creative writer was to explore character and situation; when he put science in his fiction the result was not science-fiction but bad art.

Future Perfect
edited by H. Bruce Franklin
(Oxford; $6.50)

The distinguished American writers whose dabblings with the marvelous Professor Franklin has resurrected must face the same charge. It is hard, for instance, to believe Hawthorne guilty of such poor stuff as appears under his by-line in this volume. Poe is the exception. How does Poe do it and why don't the others manage to bring it off?

One answer is that science-fiction is like detective stories (at which Poe also excelled). The author has to treat his miracles in a sober, matter-of-fact way. The worst thing he can do is take an excited, romantic approach to his subject – precisely the fault committed by Balzac, and here by Hawthorne and most of Professor Franklin's other authors. Second, he should have an eagle eye for the striking, memorable detail, one of which is worth a ton of drama and two tons of exclamatory prose.

Other than Poe, the cunningest 19th-Century artificers of science-fiction were Jules Verne and H. G. Wells. Both handled their marvels with the bluff confidence of a cardsharper and an instinct for telling detail, and were careful to keep their human characters ordinary. Take Wells' *The Late Mr. Elvesham*. Who would believe that an old man could exchange bodies with a young man? Wells induces suspension of disbelief, and quietly introduces terror, by having the drugged young man fumble in bewilderment with dim but persistent memories of a brother the young man knows he never had; then having him fall asleep in his own bed, to wake shivering in a strange, cold bedroom, exploring with an unfamiliar, skinny hand a row of toothless gums where his own strong white teeth had been. By comparison with this sort of mastery of the genre, Professor Franklin's writers' characters just dash about in flowing draperies, spouting – except for Poe, and Mark Twain who greatly relished the bizarre and handled it well.

As with detective stories, science-fiction tales old and new are a flood of mostly rubbish. This sad fact has occasionally tempted serious writers to try their hands at them, thinking the medium must be easy. The results have

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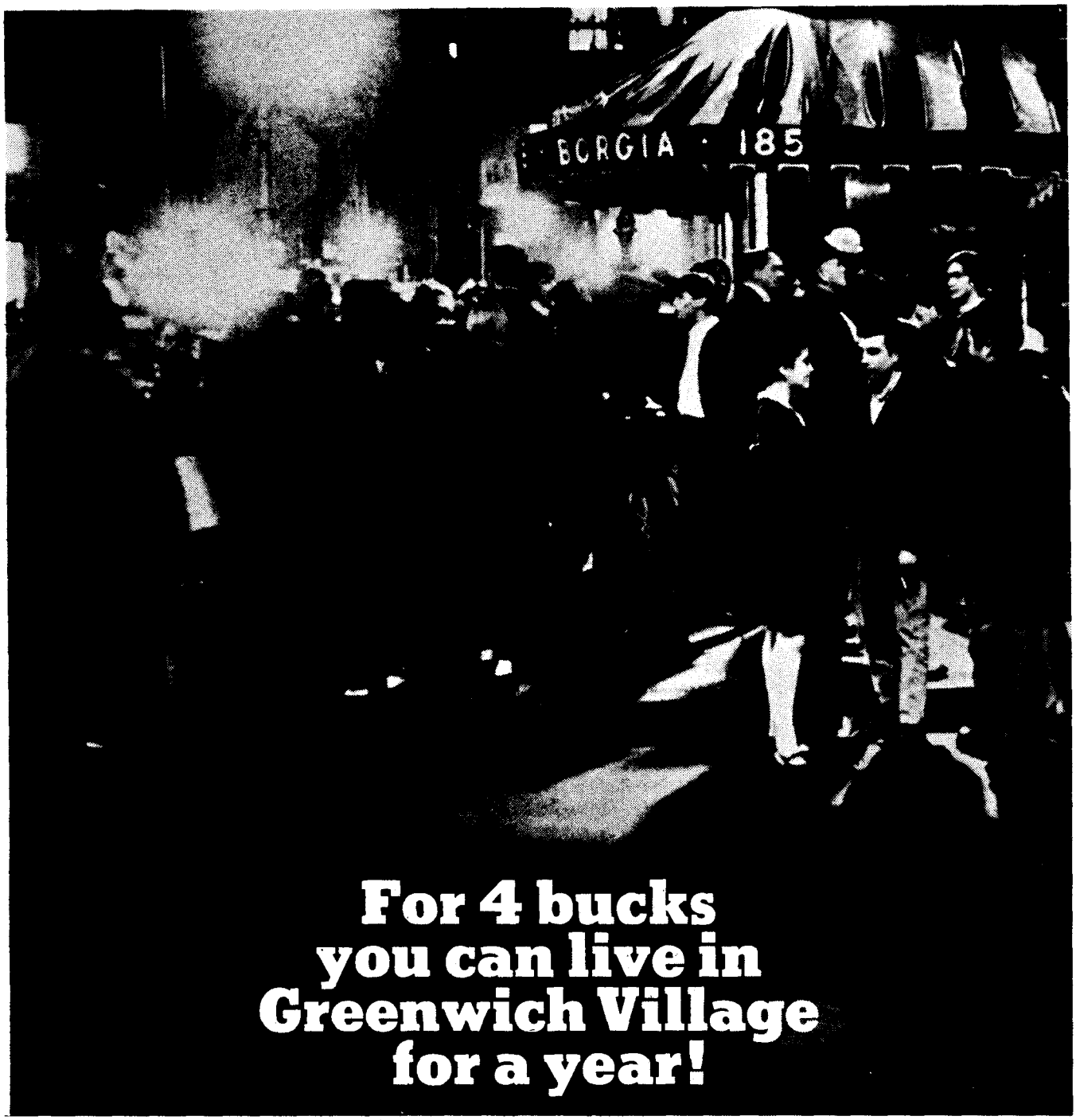

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almost always been chastening.

American science-fiction of the 20th Century, which Professor Franklin doesn't explore but perhaps ought to, has developed interesting faults of its own. Its practitioners (with exceptions like Ray Bradbury) are wooden, mechanical writers. They devise innumerable strange worlds filled with weird monsters, but show no particular insight into what makes men or monsters tick. Their Captain Nemos, too, have supersubmarines, but they have none of the vision that makes Verne's Nemo memorable. He knew what he thought of the world and what he would like to do with it, but they just accept it. Their tales are fantasies but with little sense of wonder, mystery or real imagination. In one recent tale, America has successfully colonized the moon, but the story dully deals with digging for moon gold and moon uranium, and securing the moonport hot-dog stand concession! We have not yet produced another Edgar Allan Poe, or even a Mark Twain.

THEATRE

Sartre: The Janus of Modern Dramatists

One of the most maddening things about Jean-Paul Sartre is how he continually promises, and continually fails, to be a poet of the stage. Buried somewhere deep inside of him there is an inventive theatre artist capable of fertile theatrical concepts, but while he thoroughly explores the philosophical implications of these concepts, he leaves

The Condemned of Altona
by Jean-Paul Sartre
adapted by Justin O'Brien
(Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center)

their imaginative possibilities virtually untapped. What Sartre ultimately lacks is the artist's commitment to form: Of all his dramatic works, only the short play *No Exit* seems to enjoy a structure congenial to its theme. As for the others, they all look like uneasy collaborations between a deft original thinker and a clumsy derivative playwright, for despite their intellectual vitality and suggestive scenic strategies, they invariably bog down into talky scenes, old fashioned dramaturgy, and unconvincing character motivations that lessen the impact of their ideas.

That this is true of *The Condemned of Altona* is especially disappointing, since the work is potentially the most interesting of his full-length plays. The basic argument, certainly, is a corker: Frantz von Gerlach, a German officer reported dead after World War II, has been hiding in a secret room in his father's house for 13 years, sequestered from the world and from all members of his family except his sister Leni (with whom he lives in incest). Convinced that Germany has been reduced to ashes by the vindictive Allied forces, and half-mad with shame and self-justification, he is now pouring the history of his dismal century into a tape recorder for the benefit of some future tribunal, composed (he imagines man will then be extinct) entirely of crabs. What Frantz must eventually discover, of course, is that Germany has not only survived its crimes but has gone on to become the most powerful nation in Europe ("Today we have soldiers; tomorrow we have the Bomb"); and no longer able to use his country's supposed destruction as a cover for his own actual guilt (he has tortured Russian partisans), he can only attempt to atone a little by committing suicide.

Imagine what Beckett or Ionesco would make of those "masked inhabitants of the ceiling" – the crabs from the 30th Century which scuttle over an earth barren of mankind – and imagine what Duerrenmatt or Weiss would do with the horrible irony of a German prosperity built on human bones. Sartre doesn't exactly bungle these possibilities but he certainly dissipates them with his unfortunate dramatic choices. *The Condemned of Altona* is fashioned in the form of a creaky bourgeois melodrama – one plot based on a vapid romantic triangle, the other on a con-

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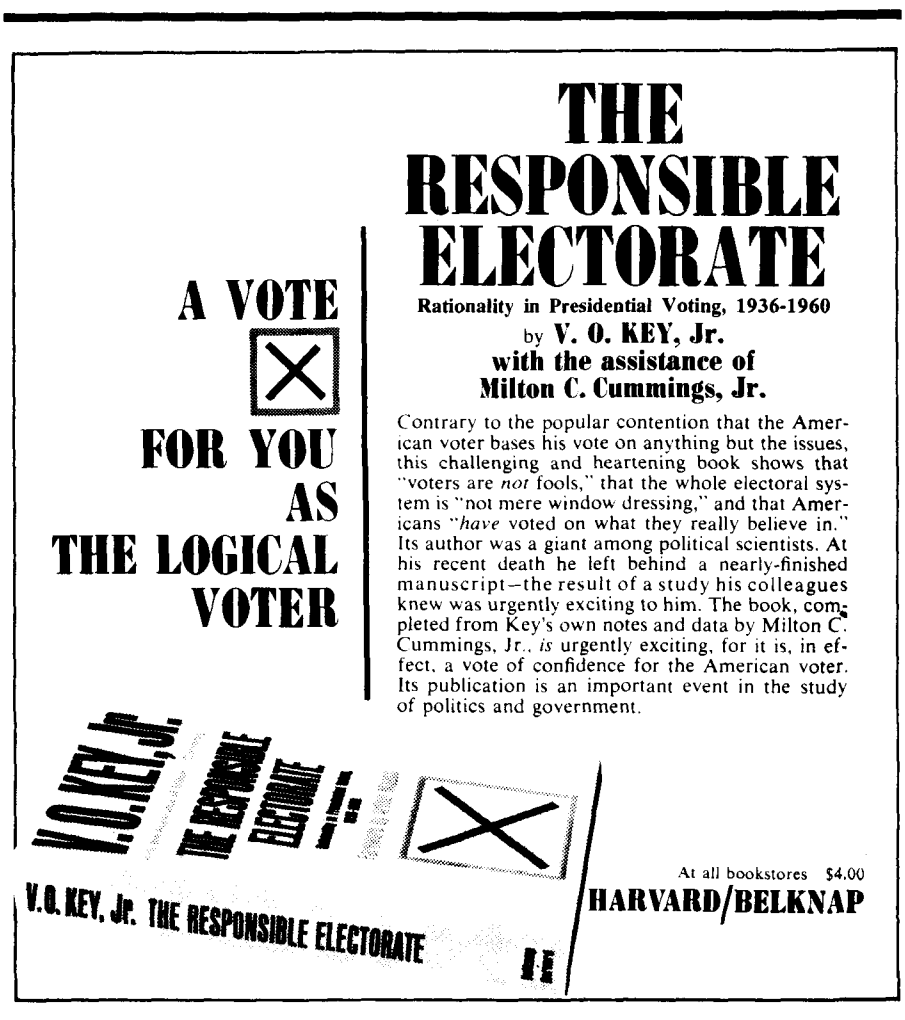
flict between father and son – which owes its basic techniques to the early family plays of Arthur Miller. Thus, we have a first act dedicated almost entirely to long-winded exposition in the Gerlach parlor; we have brief *Death of a Salesman* flashbacks during which Frantz, as a young man, wanders into the later action for background episodes; we have recriminations over the wartime activities of Frantz's father (a rich shipbuilder who once permitted his land to be used for a concentration camp) that recall the flap over Keller's faulty plane parts in *All My Sons;* we have the inevitable reconciliation scene between father and son following a moment of tearful embraces (*pace* Chris and Keller, and Biff and Willy); and we have the double suicide of Frantz and old Gerlach in an offstage Porsche, as we had Willy's suicide in his offstage Studebaker. Worst of all, the plot revolves around the revelation of a concealed secret (Frantz's activities as "the butcher of Smolensk") which, like Willy's adultery and Keller's involvement in the death of his son, seems overly contrived and insufficient to bear the weight of dramatic events.

Sartre makes every effort to enlarge the perspective seen from the family window, even to the point of allegorizing from a quibble on his hero's name (Frantz, the torturer, is homonymous with France and its torture policies in Algeria); and Frantz's addresses to his tape machine possess a sardonic eloquence that is fierce and arresting. Then, Sartre is able to evoke a certain concern for this cold Lutheran family even as its members are freezing each other to death, and he occasionally creates scences of coarse-grained brutality that vibrate with ruthless energy. But despite the brilliance with which Sartre examines the consequences of the action, the action itself too often seems manipulated, with characters removing themselves from stage on flimsy pretexts, and important revelations (such as Germany's real condition) being made as a result of trivial motives (such as a lover's jealousy).

The Repertory Theatre's production suffers from similar difficulties: Only intermittently does it find adequate theatrical images for its intellectual formulations. Robin Wagner's proscenium settings have a dour grandeur, the Council Room possessing the green moldy texture of an ancestral tomb, and Frantz's room an unearthly disarray that pulls it out of time, while Herbert Blau's direction has been carefully orchestrated for pace and rhythm. But too few of the scenes are cohesive and too much of the acting is pallid, as if the play had sapped the energies of its youthful cast. This is especially true in the first act which seems interminable; later, when we move up to Frantz's room, something more exciting begins to happen, both to play and production. For Tom Rosqui, while hardly physically ideal for the part of Frantz (two women, after all, are supposed to be in love with him), handles the more important values of the role quite well: He gives us a rasping, feverish figure, petulant and disgusted amidst his champagne and oysters, who spits out his loathing with an eccentric, stacatto delivery that contains elements of grisly humor and real daring. George Coulouris, as his father, lacks the requisite steeliness and strength, though he looks rather like General Jodl with his white hair and brush moustache, and the two ladies of the play, though handsome enough, do not have the histrionic means to disguise the machinery of the plot. Still, while this is not a brilliant production, it is faithful enough to show us what the play is, and in O'Brien's lucid adaptation, it exposes us both to the virtues and the faults of Sartre's dramatic approach.

His virtues stem from an adventurous mind, his faults from an inability to be equally adventurous in his use of the stage. As a thinker, Sartre has no peers among contemporary playwrights, but he has not yet learned to forge his ideas into powerful myths. He is certainly a dramatist, but one who presently looks backward, even as he is pushing forward intellectually to the limits of human thought.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN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Back to Chabrier

In addition to the 19th Century's two great originals, Berlioz and Musorgsky, there is a minor master, Chabrier, who also exhibits a fascinatingly individual mind and style. Not in the best-known and attractive orchestral piece *España*, but in the *Dix Pièces Pittoresques* for piano, and specifically the *Idylle*, *Danse Villageoise* and *Scherzo-Valse*, which Balanchine used in his unforgettable ballet of the 30's, *Cotillon*. I have yet to hear the work performed in the concert hall, and the one recorded performance is no longer available; but the *Suite Pastorale* – Chabrier's orchestrations of four of the pieces, including the three I have mentioned – is among the Chabrier works performed by Ansermet with his Orchestre de la Suisse Romande on London C-9438 and CS-6438. In addition the records offer *España*, the engaging *Marche Joyeuse* and *Fête Polonaise* that Balanchine used in *Bourrée Fantasque*, and the less interesting *Danse Slave*. The orchestra's playing is excellent; but a few of the pieces would be more effective in more animated tempos. Once more I prefer the mono sound for its more strongly defined bass.

The succession of record-reviewers proclaiming the excellence of Dorati's performances of Tchaikovsky's first three symphonies with the London Symphony, their superiority to Maazel's with the Vienna Philharmonic, their reaffirmation of Dorati as "one of the two or three finest Tchaikovsky conductors," impelled me to investigate whether the man who had produced pedestrian performances in the past had produced these marvelous Tchaikovsky performances now. And listening to Mercury OL-2-115 and SR-2-9015 I found that he had not, and that once again the reviewers' statements had no relevance to what was on the records. This was typified by the performance of the *Alla tedesca* movement of the Symphony No. 3: as against Maazel's performance, with its animation and grace, its sensitive shaping of phrase, its relating of each strand in the musical texture to all others, that testified to the operation of a first-class musician; its matching of instruments to each other in the finished and beautiful-sounding orchestral playing, in particular the delicate woodwind-playing of the middle section, that testified to the operation of a first-class conductor – as against these Dorati offered a less animated, more stolid performance, with no grace, no relating of strands in the musical texture, no matching of instruments in the orchestral playing, notably in the woodwind passages of the middle section. As a friend observed, from the Dorati performance one wouldn't know this was the writing of a great orchestrator and the playing of a great orchestra; and a man who does this to a composer and an orchestra is a poor conductor of each.

Mason Jones' playing in Mozart's four horn concertos – with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy, on Columbia ML-6185 and MS-6785 – has a blandness of tone and phrasing that is without the enlivening and expressive effect of Dennis Brain's powerful tone and his richly detailed inflection of it in the musical phrase, on Angel 35092.

Von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic, on Deutsche Grammophon 18-976-7-8 and 138-976-7-8, offer a large orchestra's performances – well-paced and fine-sounding – of Bach's six Brandenburg Concertos and his Suites Nos. 2 and 3; Casals and the Marlboro Festival Orchestra, on Columbia M2L-331 and M2S-731, a small orchestra's performances of the concertos, with the powerful accentuation, inflection and shaping characteristic of Casals. The trumpet part of No. 2 is played this time not by a soprano saxophone, as in the Prades Festival performance, but by a trumpet and played brilliantly – a remarkable achievement in view of Casal's excessively fast tempo (it must be "very gay," he says in the rehearsal of No. 2 on the bonus record).

The Italian concertos on Oiseau-Lyre 277 (mono) comprise Corelli's familiar

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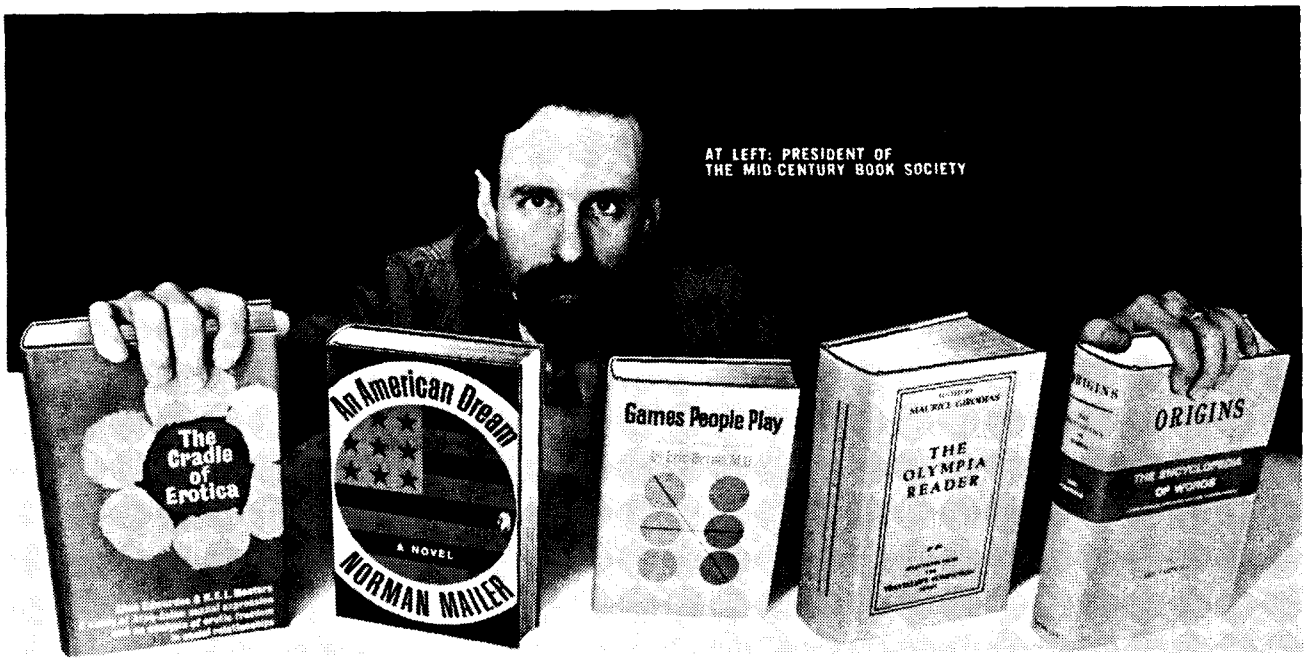

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Concerto Grosso Op. 6 No. 1, a moderately interesting Vivaldi cello concerto in C minor, Geminiani's fine Concerto Grosso Op. 3 No. 3, a horn concerto of Cherubini with an impressive slow introduction, and Bellini's Oboe Concerto in E flat, an interesting early piece with characteristic melodic writing and a charming polonaise. The performances by the Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields under Marriner are excellent.

An unfamiliar early piece by Mozart on London CM-9433 (mono), the Cassation K.99, composed when he was thirteen, turns out to be astonishingly good, its two Andantes being as fine as the Adagio in the Divertimento K.205 on the reverse side, which he wrote at the mature age, for him, of eighteen. Both pieces are performed well by members of the Vienna Octet.

Unlike the Starker performances of Beethoven's five cello sonatas that I reviewed recently, Janigro's on Vanguard 1136-7 (mono) have not only his own excellent playing of the cello parts but admirably complementing playing of the piano parts by Demus. However the recording subordinates the piano that should be heard equally with the cello.

An opportunity to hear Rossini's unfamiliar serious opera, *Moses*, is provided by Philips PHM-3-580 (mono only), with a performance recorded in 1956. One hears the operation of an accomplished composer in a style in which he produces on the one hand, for the scenes concerned with religious conflict, writing that has dignity and solemnity but not grandeur, and on the other hand, for the scenes concerned with human emotions, writing that only rarely – for example in Sinaide's aria near the end of Act 2 – rises above the routine to an approximation of what Rossini achieved in *William Tell*. Moses's utterances are weakened by the hollow harumphing of the bass Rossi-Lemeni; and the tenor Filippeschi's constricted upper range is unattractive; but the other principals sing well. The chorus and orchestra are those of Naples' San Carlo; and Serafin conducts.

The newest soprano sensation, Montserrat Caballé, who sings arias by Bellini and Donizetti on RCA Victor LM- and LSC-2862, has a voice which in itself is not in any way extraordinary, as the voices of Ponselle, Rethberg, Flagstad and – by virtue of its strangely beautiful timbre - Callas were. It is agreeable, but dry as on the mono record, without the glow imparted to it by the stereo record; but Caballé has it under a control which enables her to deploy it in a long phrase of recitative or melody, and in this to have it spin out one after another in a series of exquisite pianissimo high notes or project the series with power. And it is this deployment of the voice – done with a sense for emerging shape of phrase, for style, for dramatic expressiveness – that becomes impressive and exciting. But not, I must add. as exciting as the similar deployment of a more extraordinary voice like Flagstad's; without the expressive impact that the strangely beautiful voice and the emotional intensity of Callas gave to this music of Bellini and Donizetti.

B. H. HAGGIN

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Boycott the Russians

Sirs:

Protests to the Soviet Government about the barbarous sentencing last week of the authors Andrei Sinyavsky (seven years in a forced labor camp) and Yuli Daniel (five years) are obviously useless. Only private action is possible. I suggest that interested and outraged persons:

1) Refuse to purchase Soviet goods of any kind.

2) Refuse to travel in Soviet Russia.

3) Refuse to attend performances by Soviet artists or of Soviet films.

Oistrakh is a great violinist, but it is a mockery of art to sit listening to him while these writers are in prison at hard labor.

Stanley Kauffmann
New York City

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After the Arrests

Sirs:

In "After the Arrests" (February 12), I referred to Judge Bazelon's decision in the recent case of *Alston v. US*. Judge Bazelon's holding that Alston's confession was inadmissible in evidence against him assuredly has constitutional overtones, but, like the decision in *Mallory v. US*, it was immediately supported by an interpretation of a statute. I was, therefore, wrong to summarize Judge Bazelon's holding as being, simply, that Alston's confession "was obtained by unconstitutional means," and I wish to retract the quoted statement.

Alexander M. Bickel
Yale Law School

Brown vs. Regan

Sirs:

In your article "Brown vs. Regan" (January 22, 1966) you refer to Attorney General Thomas Lynch as "an undistinguished and colorless politician . . . who is being opposed by 'a young Democratic attorney, crusading for consumer interests against private power monopolies'."

It is unfortunate that you did not identify this courageous young attorney. He is Commissioner William Bennett of the California Public Utilities Commission. I have nothing against Mr. Lynch, but I do feel Mr. Bennett is better qualified to be California's Attorney General. He is exactly the kind of aggressive, courageous, high-principled political figure that the American voter is hungry for.

Steve Allen
Encino, California

Three Faces of Fascism

Sirs:

Mr. Grossman in the February 12 issue, notes in his review of Nolte's *Three Faces of Fascism*, that "Hitler was not insane." How a *Harper's* editor arrived at this medical diagnosis, would be interesting to know. Whether or not Hitler was mentally deranged can never be certain, as there is no known record of a psychiatric examination of him as a patient. There are, however, similarities between his "program of defense against the enemy [Jew]" and the persecutory delusions manifested in paranoid schizophrenic reaction, a classic form of mental illness.

Barbara Gordon Falleder, M.D.
Resident in Psychiatry
Bellevue Hospital, N.Y.C.

The Reconstruction

I write in dismay and puzzlement over Richard L. Strout's piece, "One Hundred Years Ago" in you issue of February 12. What is all this about the "vindictive radicals" and their "unlovable" and "mountebank" leaders? What is this Freedmen's Bureau that is described as "a clumsy political apparatus to infuriate Southern whites"? Is it really the lesson for 1966 that "race relations require more than bayonets"? Is that what Reconstruction teaches? Surely Strout can leave the defense of Confederate historiography to Governor Wallace and Senator Eastland. This is the sort of history up with which your readers cannot possibly put.

C. Vann Woodward
Yale University

I could hardly believe what I read in Richard L. Strout's "One Hundred Years Ago." The "Vindictive Radicals" and "Maligned Andy Johnson" are stereotypes which historians began to puncture about twenty years ago. Today few knowledgeable people hold such views. For starters Mr. Strout might read Eric L. McKitrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (1960), LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, *Politics, Principle and Prejudice* (1963), and Kenneth Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction* (1965).

Martin Duberman
Princeton University

Strout's article is a model example of how liberals of good will have been victimized by their egregious knowledge of American history. We are treated to yet another eulogy of Lincoln and Johnson's Reconstruction policies and an attack on those "zealous super-patriots" the Radical Republicans.

Mr. Strout admits that Johnson unfortunately was "tactless and uncouth." (Ah, the importance of style!) Much work of modern historians has considerably broadened this indictment. Johnson has been depicted as a man wholly out of touch with general Northern opinion, caring little about the treatment of the newly freed Negro (this was, after all, the time of the passage of the Black Codes), working, in fact, with conservative Republicans and War Democrats to build a new conservative political party. Furthermore, Mr. Strout surely overestimates the power of Stevens and the Radicals; does he really argue that a small group of willful men could have badgered the Senate into voting by two-thirds save one for the impeachment of the President. . . .

It may not be beside the point to note that one of the more poignant asides in both Sorensen's and Schlesinger's

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books on Kennedy deals with the President's sudden awareness, at the time of the Oxford, Mississippi, crisis, that his own Harvard history education concerning Reconstruction might have been sadly misleading.

Sanford V. Levinson
Harvard University

Mr. Strout replies:

After 100 years Andrew Johnson is almost as controversial as Lyndon. I am aware of the Modernists who blame Andrew, not the Radicals, for derailing Reconstruction. Eric McKitrick psychoanalyzes Johnson, finds him obsessed, and holds him responsible for the Tragic Era. Maybe the estimable Professor Woodward, who interprets Reconstruction in economic terms, links me with Governor Wallace; the penalty, perhaps, for one who quotes (and rejects) Lincoln on white supremacy. Mr. Levinson says that I "admit" Johnson was tactless and uncouth. I don't admit it; I state it.

Some authors cited do not support the Modernists. John Hope Franklin (*Reconstruction: After the Civil War*, 1961) calls the Radicals the "hysterical fringe"; the "hostile, vindictive element." Possibly Samuel Eliot Morison, (*The Oxford History of the American People*, 1965) is old-fashioned. At any rate he blames the Radicals (Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner) who adroitly exploited Johnson's crudities: "This worthy organization [the Freedman's Bureau, July, 1866] degenerated into a political machine. . . . The impeachment of Johnson was one of the most disgraceful episodes in our history."

The dispute should persuade hesitant freshmen that history can be fun. Charles Sumner did, after all, leave us this apothegm on Johnson: "An insolent drunken brute in comparison with which Caligula's horse was respectable." Andrew Johnson, that is.

Richard L. Strout

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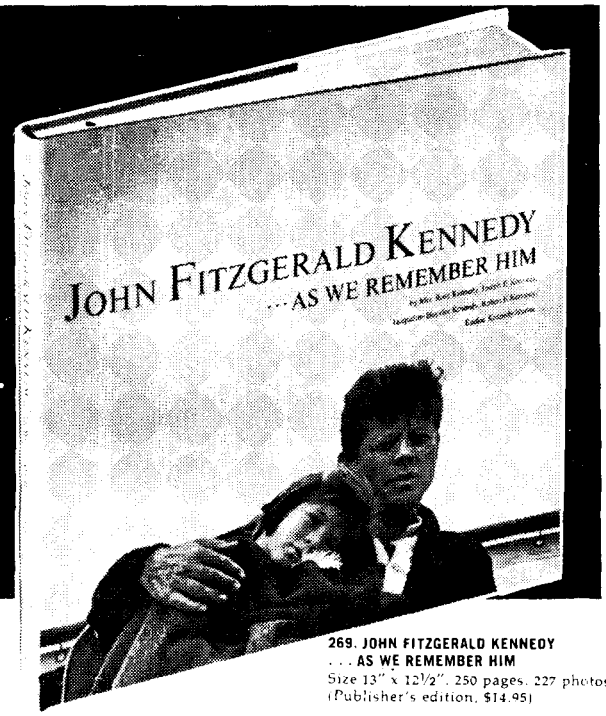

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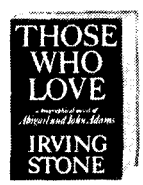

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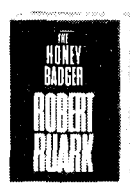

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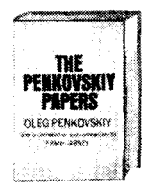

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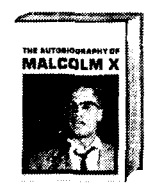

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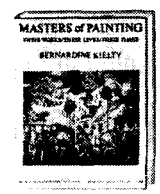

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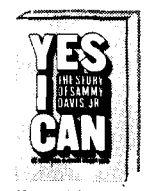

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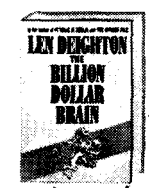

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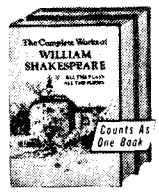

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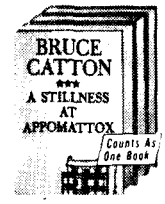

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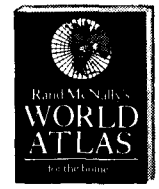

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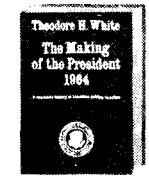

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